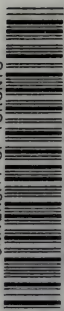


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THE
WORKS
 OF
JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D.

DEAN OF ST PATRICK'S, DUBLIN;

CONTAINING

ADDITIONAL LETTERS, TRACTS, AND POEMS,

NOT HITHERTO PUBLISHED;

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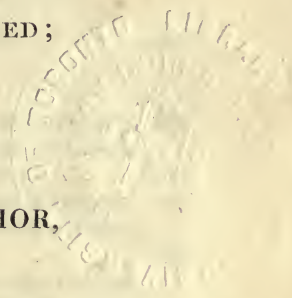
NOTES,

AND

A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

BY

SIR WALTER SCOTT, BART.



SECOND EDITION.

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TRACTS

RELATIVE TO

IRELAND

VOL. VII.

A

TRACTS

OF

THE LAND

THE

DRAPIER'S LETTERS.

FIRST PRINTED IN 1724.

(CONTINUED.)

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LETTER VI.

ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.*

THE former of the two following papers is dated October 6th, 1724, by which it appears to be written a little after the proclamation against the author of the Drapier's Fourth Letter. It is delivered with much caution, because the author confesses himself to be Dean of St Patrick's, and I could discover his name subscribed at the end of the original, although blotted out by some other hand. I can tell no other reason why it was not printed, than what I have heard, that the writer, finding how effectually the Drapier had succeeded, and at the same time how highly the people in power seemed to be displeas'd, thought it more prudent to keep it in his cabinet. However, having received some encouragement to collect into one volume all the papers relating to Ireland, supposed to be written by the Drapier, and knowing how favourably the author's writings of that kind have been received by the public, to make the volume more complete, I procur'd a copy of the following letter from one of the author's friends, with whom it was left while the author was in England; and I have printed it as near as I could in the order of time.

The next treatise is called "An Address," &c. It is without a date; but seems to be written during the first session of Parliament in Lord Carteret's government. The title of this Address is in the usual form, by M. B. Drapier. There is but a small part of it that relates to William Wood and his coin. The rest contains several

* This advertisement is restored from the edition 1735.

proposals for the improvement of Ireland ; the many discouragements it lies under ; and what are the best remedies against them.

By many passages in some of the Drapier's former letters, but particularly in the following Address, concerning the great drain of money from Ireland by absentees, importation of foreign goods, balances of trade, and the like, it appears that the author had taken much pains, and been well informed in the business of computing ; all his reasonings upon that subject, although he doth not here descend to particular sums, agreeing generally with the accounts given by others who have since made that inquiry their particular study. And it is observable, that, in this Address, as well as in one of his printed letters, he hath specified several articles that have not been taken notice of by others who came after him.

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LETTER VI.

TO THE

LORD CHANCELLOR MIDDLETON.

MY LORD,

Deanery-house, Oct. 1724.

I DESIRE you will consider me as a member, who comes in at the latter end of a debate; or as a lawyer, who speaks to a cause when the matter has been almost exhausted by those who spoke before.

I remember, some months ago, I was at your house upon a commission, where I am one of the governors; but I went thither, not so much on account of the commission, as to ask you some questions concerning Mr Wood's patent to coin halfpence for Ireland; where you very freely told me, in a mixed company, how much you had been always against that wicked project;* which raised in me an esteem for you so far, that I went in a few days to make you a visit, after many years intermission. I am likewise told, that your son wrote two letters from London (one of which I have seen) empowering those, to whom they were directed, to assure

* Lord Middleton, though he signed the proclamation against the Drapier, was an enemy to Wood's project, according to several passages in these letters.—H.

his friends, that whereas there was a malicious report spread of his engaging himself to Mr Walpole for forty thousand pounds of Wood's coin to be received in Ireland, the said report was false and groundless ; and he had never discoursed with that minister on this subject, nor would ever give his consent to have one farthing of the said coin current here. And although it be a long time since I have given myself the trouble of conversing with people of titles or stations, yet I have been told by those who can take up with such amusements, that there is not a considerable person of the kingdom scrupulous in any sort to declare his opinion. But all this is needless to allege, when we consider, that the ruinous consequences of Wood's patent have been so strongly represented by both Houses of Parliament ; by the Privy-council, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of Dublin ; by so many corporations ; and the concurrence of the principal gentlemen in most counties at their quarter-sessions, without any regard to party, religion, or nation.

I conclude from hence, that the currency of these halfpence would, in the universal opinion of our people, be utterly destructive to this kingdom ; and, consequently, that it is every man's duty, not only to refuse this coin himself, but, as far as in him lies, to persuade others to do the like : and, whether this be done in private or in print, is all a case ; as no layman is forbidden to write, or to discourse upon religious or moral subjects, although he may not do it in a pulpit, at least in our church. Neither is this an affair of state, until authority shall think fit to declare it so : or, if you should understand it in that sense, yet you will please to consider, that I am not now preaching.

Therefore, I do think it my duty, since the Drapier will probably be no more heard of, so far to supply his place, as not to incur his fortune; for I have learned from old experience, that there are times, wherein a man ought to be cautious as well as innocent. I therefore hope, that, preserving both those characters, I may be allowed, by offering new arguments or enforcing old ones, to refresh the memory of my fellow-subjects, and keep up that good spirit raised among them, to preserve themselves from utter ruin by lawful means, and such as are permitted by his Majesty.

I believe you will please to allow me two propositions: First, that we are a most loyal people; and, secondly, that we are a free people, in the common acceptation of that word, applied to a subject under a limited monarch. I know very well, that you and I did, many years ago, in discourse differ much, in the presence of Lord Wharton, about the meaning of that word *liberty*, with relation to Ireland. But, if you will not allow us to be a free people, there is only another appellation left, which I doubt my Lord Chief Justice Whitshed would call me to account for, if I venture to bestow: for I observed (and I shall never forget upon what occasion) the device upon his coach to be, *Libertas et natale solum*, at the very point of time when he was sitting in his court, and perjuring himself to betray both.*

Now, as for our loyalty to his present Majesty, if it has ever been equalled in any other part of his dominions, I am sure it has never been exceeded: and I am confi-

* See the severe poetical paraphrase written by the Dean on Whitshed's motto.

dent he has not a minister in England, who could ever call it once in question ; but that some hard rumours, at least, have been transmitted from the other side of the water, I suppose you will not doubt : and rumours of the severest kind, which many good people have imputed to indirect proceedings of Mr Wood and his emissaries : as if he endeavoured it should be thought that our loyalty depended upon the test of refusing or taking his copper. Now, as I am sure you will admit us to be a loyal people, so you will think it pardonable in us to hope for all proper marks of favour and protection from so gracious a King, that a loyal and free people can expect : among which, we all agree in reckoning this to be one, that Wood's halfpence may never have entrance into this kingdom. And this we shall continue to wish, when we dare no longer express our wishes ; although there were no such mortal as a Drapier in the world.

I am heartily sorry that any writer should, in a cause so generally approved, give occasion to the government and council to charge him with paragraphs "highly reflecting upon his Majesty and his ministers ; tending to alienate the affections of his good subjects in England and Ireland from each other, and to promote sedition among the people." * I must confess, that, with many others, I thought he meant well, although he might have the failing of better writers, not to be always fortunate in the manner of expressing himself.

However, since the Drapier is but one man, I shall think I do a public service by asserting, that the rest of my countrymen are wholly free from learning, out of his pamphlets, to reflect on the King or his ministers, and to breed sedition.

* The expressions of the Proclamation.

I solemnly declare, that I never once heard the least reflection cast upon the King, on the subject of Mr Wood's coin: for in many discourses on this matter, I do not remember his Majesty's name to be so much as mentioned. As to the ministry in England, the only two persons hinted at, were, the Duke of Grafton and Mr Walpole: the former, as I have heard you and a hundred others affirm, declared, "that he never saw the patent in favour of Mr Wood, before it was passed," although he was then lord-lieutenant; and therefore I suppose everybody believes that his grace has been wholly unconcerned in it ever since.

Mr Walpole was indeed supposed to be understood by the letter W. in several newspapers; where it is said that some expressions fell from him not very favourable to the people of Ireland; for the truth of which the kingdom is not to answer, any more than for the discretion of the publishers. You observe, the Drapier wholly clears Mr Walpole of this charge by very strong arguments; and speaks of him with civility. I cannot deny myself to have been often present, where the company gave their opinion, that Mr Walpole favoured Mr Wood's projects, which I always contradicted; and for my own part never once opened my lips against that minister, either in mixed or particular meetings; and my reason for this reservedness was, because it pleased him in the Queen's time (I mean Queen Anne of ever blessed memory) to make a speech directly against me by name, in the House of Commons, as I was told a very few minutes after, in the Court of Requests, by more than fifty members.

But you, who are in a great station here, (if anything here may be called great,) cannot be ignorant, that

whoever is understood by public voice to be chief minister, will, among the general talkers, share the blame, whether justly or not, of every thing that is disliked; which I could easily make appear in many instances from my own knowledge, while I was in the world; and particularly in the case of the greatest, the wisest, and the most uncorrupt minister I ever conversed with.*

But whatever displeasing opinion some people might conceive of Mr Walpole, on account of those halfpence, I dare boldly affirm it was entirely owing to Mr Wood. Many persons of credit come from England, have affirmed to me and others, that they have seen letters under his hand, full of arrogance and insolence towards Ireland, and boasting of his favour with Mr Walpole; which is highly probable; because he reasonably thought it for his interest to spread such a report, and because it is the known talent of low and little spirits, to have a great man's name perpetually in their mouths.†

Thus I have sufficiently justified the people of Ireland from learning any bad lesson out of the Drapier's pamphlets, with regard to his Majesty and his ministers; and therefore, if those papers were intended to sow sedition among us, God be thanked the seeds have fallen upon a very improper soil.

As to alienating the affections of the people of England and Ireland from each other, I believe the Drapier, whatever his intentions were, has left that matter just as he found it.

I have lived long in both kingdoms, as well in coun-

* Supposed to be the Lord-treasurer Oxford—H.

† Mr Coxe, in his account of this transaction, admits and censures this indiscretion of Wood.

try as in town ; and therefore take myself to be as well informed as most men, in the dispositions of each people toward the other. By the people, I understand here only the bulk of the common people : and I desire no lawyer may distort or extend my meaning.

There is a vein of industry and parsimony, that runs through the whole people of England, which, added to the easiness of their rents, makes them rich and sturdy. As to Ireland, they know little more of it than they do of Mexico : farther than that it is a country subject to the King of England, full of bogs, inhabited by wild Irish Papists, who are kept in awe by mercenary troops sent from thence : and their general opinion is, that it were better for England if this whole island were sunk into the sea ; for they have a tradition, that every forty years there must be a rebellion in Ireland. I have seen the grossest suppositions passed upon them : “ that the wild Irish were taken in toils ; but that in some time they would grow so tame as to eat out of your hands.” I have been asked by hundreds, and particularly by my neighbours your tenants at Pepper-harrow, “ whether I had come from Ireland by sea ?” and, upon the arrival of an Irishman to a country town, I have known crowds coming about him, and wondering to see him look so much better than themselves.

A gentleman, now in Dublin, affirms, “ that, passing some months ago through Northampton, and finding the whole town in a flurry, with bells, bonfires, and illuminations ; upon asking the cause, he was told that it was for joy that the Irish had submitted to receive Wood’s halfpence.” This, I think, plainly shews what sentiments that large town has of us ; and how little they made it their own case ; although they lie directly

in our way to London, and therefore cannot but be frequently convinced that we have human shapes.

As to the people of this kingdom, they consist either of Irish Papists, who are as inconsiderable, in point of power, as the women and children; or of English Protestants, who love their brethren of that kingdom, although they may possibly sometimes complain when they think they are hardly used. However, I confess I do not see that it is of any great consequence, how the personal affections stand to each other, while the sea divides them, and while they continue in their loyalty to the same prince. And yet I will appeal to you, whether those from England have reason to complain, when they come hither in pursuit of their fortunes? or, whether the people of Ireland have reason to boast, when they go to England upon the same design?

My second proposition was, that we of Ireland are a free people: this, I suppose, you will allow, at least with certain limitations remaining in your own breast. However, I am sure, it is not criminal to affirm it; because the words liberty and property, as applied to the subject, are often mentioned in both Houses of Parliament, as well as in yours and other courts below: whence it must follow, that the people of Ireland do or ought to enjoy all the benefits of the common and statute law: such as to be tried by juries, to pay no money without their own consent as represented in Parliament, and the like. If this be so, and if it be universally agreed that a free people cannot by law be compelled to take any money in payment, except gold and silver, I do not see why any man should be hindered from cautioning his countrymen against this coin of William Wood, who is endeavouring by fraud to rob us of that property which

the laws have secured. If I am mistaken, and this copper can be obtruded on us, I would put the Drapier's case in another light, by supposing, that a person going into his shop would agree for thirty shillings worth of goods, and force the seller to take his payment in a parcel of copper pieces intrinsically not worth above a crown: I desire to know whether the Drapier would not be actually robbed of five and twenty shillings; and how far he would be said to be master of his property? The same question may be applied to rents, and debts on bond or mortgage, and to all kind of commerce whatsoever.

Give me leave to do, what the Drapier has done more than once before me; which is, to relate the naked fact, as it stands in the view of the world.

One William Wood, Esq. a hardware-man, obtains by fraud a patent in England to coin 108,000*l.* in copper, to pass in Ireland, leaving us liberty to take or refuse. The people here, in all sorts of bodies and representatives, do openly and heartily declare, that they will not accept this coin. To justify these declarations, they generally offer two reasons; first, because by the words of the patent they are left to their own choice; and, secondly, because they are not obliged by law: so that you see there is *bellum atque virum*, a kingdom on one side, and William Wood on the other. And if Mr Wood gets the victory, at the expense of Ireland's ruin, and the profit of one or two hundred thousand pounds (I mean by continuing and counterfeiting as long as he lives) for himself, I doubt, both present and future ages will at least think it a very singular scheme.

If this fact be truly stated, I must confess I look upon it as my duty, so far as God has enabled me, and as long as I keep within the bounds of truth, of duty,

and of decency, to warn my fellow-subjects, as they value their King, their country, and all that ought or can be dear to them, never to admit this pernicious coin; no not so much as one single halfpenny; for if one single thief forces the door, it is in vain to talk of keeping out the whole crew behind.

And while I shall be thus employed, I will never give myself leave to suppose, that what I say can either offend my Lord-lieutenant, whose person and great qualities I have always highly respected (as I am sure his excellency will be my witness), or the ministers in England, with whom I have nothing to do, or they with me; much less the Privy-council here, who, as I am informed, did send an address to his Majesty against Mr Wood's coin; which, if it be a mistake, I desire I may be not accused for a spreader of false news: but I confess I am so great a stranger to affairs, that for anything I know, the whole body of the council may since have been changed; and although I observe some of the very same names in a late declaration against that coin, which I saw subscribed to the proclamation against the Drapier, yet possibly they may be different persons; for they are utterly unknown to me, and are likely to continue so.

In this controversy, where the reasoners on each side are divided by St George's Channel, his Majesty's prerogative perhaps would not have been mentioned, if Mr Wood and his advocates had not made it necessary, by giving out that the currency of his coin should be enforced by a proclamation. The traders and common people of the kingdom were heartily willing to refuse this coin; but the fear of a proclamation brought along with it most dreadful apprehensions. It was therefore

absolutely necessary for the Drapier to remove this difficulty ; and accordingly, in one of his former pamphlets, he produced invincible arguments (wherever he picked them up,) that the King's prerogative was not at all concerned in the matter ; since the law had sufficiently provided against any coin to be imposed on the subject, except gold and silver ; and that copper is not money, but as it has been properly called, *nummorum famulus*.

The three former letters from the Drapier having not received any public censure, I look upon them to be without exception ; and that the good people of the kingdom ought to read them often, in order to keep up that spirit raised against this destructive coin of Mr Wood. As for his last letter, against which a proclamation is issued, I shall only say, that I could wish it were stripped of all that can be any way exceptionable ; which I would not think it below me to undertake, if my abilities were equal ; but being naturally somewhat slow of comprehension, no lawyer, and apt to believe the best of those who profess good designs, without any visible motive either of profit or honour ; I might pore for ever, without distinguishing the cockle from the corn.

That which I am told gives the greatest offence in this last letter, is, where the Drapier affirms, “ that, if a rebellion should prove so successful as to fix the Pretender on the throne of England, he would venture so far to transgress the Irish statute, which unites Ireland to England under one King, as to lose every drop of his blood to hinder him from being King of Ireland.”

I shall not presume to vindicate any man, who openly declares he would transgress a statute ; and a statute of such importance ; but, with the most humble sub-

mission and desire of pardon for a very innocent mistake, I should be apt to think, that the loyal intention of the writer might be at least some small extenuation of his crime; for in this I confess myself to think with the Drapier.

I have not been hitherto told of any other objections against that pamphlet; but I suppose they will all appear at the prosecution of the Drapier. And I think, whoever in his own conscience believes the said pamphlet to be "wicked and malicious, seditious and scandalous, highly reflecting upon his Majesty and his ministers," &c. would do well to discover the author, (as little a friend as I am to the trade of informers,) although the reward of 300*l.* had not been tacked to the discovery. I own, it would be a great satisfaction to me to hear the arguments not only of judges, but of lawyers upon this case; because you cannot but know, there often happen occasions, wherein it would be very convenient that the bulk of the people should be informed how they ought to conduct themselves; and therefore it has been the wisdom of the English Parliaments to be very reserved in limiting the press. When a bill is debating in either House of Parliament there, nothing is more usual than to have the controversy handled by pamphlets on both sides, without the least animadversion upon the authors.

So here, in the case of Mr Wood and his coin, since the two Houses gave their opinion by addresses, how dangerous the currency of copper would be to Ireland, it was, without all question, both lawful and convenient, that the bulk of the people should be let more particularly into the nature of the danger they were in, and of the remedies that were in their own power, if they would.

have the sense to apply them ; and this cannot be more conveniently done, than by particular persons, to whom God has given zeal and understanding sufficient for such an undertaking. Thus it happened in the case of that destructive project for a bank in Ireland, which was brought into Parliament a few years ago ; and it was allowed that the arguments and writings of some without doors contributed very much to reject it.

Now, I should be heartily glad, if some able lawyers would prescribe the limits, how far a private man may venture in delivering his thoughts upon public matters ; because a true lover of his country may think it hard to be a quiet stander-by, and an indolent looker-on, while a public error prevails, by which a whole nation may be ruined. Every man who enjoys property, has some share in the public ; and therefore the care of the public is, in some degree, every such man's concern.

To come to particulars ; I could wish to know, Whether it be utterly unlawful in any writer so much as to mention the prerogative ; at least so far as to bring it into doubt upon any point whatsoever ? I know it is often debated in Westminster-hall ; and Sir Edward Coke, as well as other eminent lawyers, do frequently handle that subject in their books.

Secondly, How far the prerogative extends to force coin upon the subject, which is not sterling ; such as lead, brass, copper, mixt metal, shells, leather, or any other material ; and fix upon it whatever denomination the crown shall think fit ?

Thirdly, What is really and truly meant by that phrase of " a depending kingdom," as applied to Ireland, and wherein that dependency consists ?

Lastly, In what points relating to liberty and pro-

perty, the people of Ireland differ, or at least ought to differ, from those of England?

If these particulars were made so clear that none could mistake them, it would be of infinite ease and use to the kingdom, and either prevent or silence all discontents.

My Lord Somers, the greatest man I ever knew of your robe, and whose thoughts of Ireland differed as far as heaven and earth from those of some others among his brethren here, lamented to me, that the prerogative of the Crown, or the privileges of Parliament, should ever be liable to dispute in any single branch of either; by which means, he said, the public often suffered great inconveniencies, whereof he gave me several instances. I produce the authority of so eminent a person, to justify my desires that some high points might be cleared.

For want of such known ascertainment, how far a writer may proceed in expressing his good wishes for his country, a person of the most innocent intentions may possibly, by the oratory and comments of lawyers, be charged with many crimes, which from his very soul he abhors; and consequently may be ruined in his fortunes, and left to rot among thieves in some stinking jail, merely for mistaking the purlieus of the law. I have known, in my lifetime, a printer prosecuted and convicted for publishing a pamphlet,* where the author's intentions, I am confident, were as good and innocent, as those of a martyr at his last prayers. I did very lately, as I thought it my duty, preach to the people under my inspection, upon the subject of Mr Wood's coin; and although I never heard that my sermon gave the least offence, as I am sure none was intended, yet, if it were

* "A proposal for the universal use of Irish manufactures."

now printed and published, I cannot say I would ensure it from the hands of the common hangman, or my own person from those of a messenger.*

I have heard the late Chief Justice Holt affirm, that, in all criminal cases the most favourable interpretation should be put upon words that they can possibly bear. You meet the same position asserted in many trials for the greatest crimes ; though often very ill practised, by the perpetual corruption of judges. And I remember at a trial in Kent, where Sir George Rook was indicted for calling a gentleman knave and villain, the lawyer for the defendant brought off his client, by alleging that the words were not injurious ; for *knave* in the old and true signification, imported only a servant ; and *villain* in Latin is *villicus*, which is no more than a man employed in country labour, or rather a bailiff.

If Sir John Holt's opinion were a standard maxim for all times and circumstances, any writer, with a very small measure of discretion, might easily be safe ; but I doubt, in practice, it has been frequently controlled, at least before his time ; for I take it to be an old rule in law.

I have read, or heard, a passage of Seignior Gregorio Leti, an Italian ; who, being in London, busying himself with writing the History of England, told King Charles the Second, " that he endeavoured as much as he could to avoid giving offence, but found it a thing impossible, although he should have been as wise as Solomon." The King answered, " that, if this were the case, he had better employ his time in writing proverbs,

* The Sermon " On doing Good, occasioned by Wood's Project." See Vol. VIII.

as Solomon did." But Leti lay under no public necessity of writing; neither would England have been one halfpenny the better or the worse, whether he writ or not.

This I mention, because I know it will readily be objected, "What have private men to do with the public? what call had a Drapier to turn politician, to meddle in matters of state? would not his time have been better employed in looking to his shop; or his pen, in writing proverbs, elegies, ballads, garlands, and wonders? He would then have been out of all danger of proclamations and prosecutions. Have we not able magistrates and counsellors hourly watching over the public weal?" All this may be true; and yet, when the addresses from both Houses of Parliament against Wood's halfpence failed of success, if some pen had not been employed to inform the people how far they might legally proceed in refusing that coin; to detect the fraud, the artifice, and insolence of the coiner; and to lay open the most ruinous consequences to the whole kingdom, which would inevitably follow from the currency of the said coin; I might appeal to many hundred thousand people, whether any one of them would ever have had the courage or sagacity to refuse it.

If this copper should begin to make its way among the common ignorant people, we are inevitably undone. It is they who give us the greatest apprehension, being easily frightened, and greedy to swallow misinformations; for, if every man were wise enough to understand his own interest, which is every man's principal study, there would be no need of pamphlets upon this occasion; but as things stand, I have thought it absolutely necessary, from my duty to God, my King, and my country, to

inform the people that the proclamation lately issued against the Drapier, doth not in the least affect the case of Mr Wood and his coin; but only refers to certain paragraphs in the Drapier's last pamphlet (not immediately relating to his subject, nor at all to the merits of the cause) which the government was pleased to dislike; so that any man has the same liberty to reject, to write, and to declare against this coin, which he had before; neither is any man obliged to believe, that those honourable persons, (whereof you are the first) who signed that memorable proclamation against the Drapier, have at all changed their opinions with regard to Mr Wood or his coin.

Therefore, concluding myself to be thus far upon a safe and sure foot, I shall continue upon any proper occasion, as God enables me, to revive and preserve that spirit raised in the nation, (whether the real author were a real Drapier or not, is little to the purpose,) against this horrid design of Mr Wood; at the same time carefully watching every stroke of my pen, and venturing only to incur the public censure of the world, as a writer; not of my Lord Chief Justice Whitshed, as a criminal. Whenever an order shall come out by authority, forbidding all men, upon the highest penalties, to offer anything in writing or discourse against Mr Wood's halfpence, I shall certainly submit. However, if that should happen, I am determined to be somewhat more than the last man in the kingdom to receive them, because I will never receive them at all; for, although I know how to be silent, I have not yet learned to pay active obedience against my conscience and the public safety.

I desire to put a case, which I think the Drapier in

some of his books has put before me ; although not so full as it requires.

You know the copper halfpence in England are coined by the public ; and every piece worth pretty near the value of the copper. Now suppose, that, instead of the public coinage, a patent had been granted to some private obscure person, for coining a proportionable quantity of copper in that kingdom, to what Mr Wood is preparing in this ; and all of it at least five times below the intrinsic value : the current money of England is reckoned to be twenty millions ; and ours under five hundred thousand pounds ; by this computation, as Mr Wood has power to give us 108,000 pounds, so the patentee in England, by the same proportion, might circulate four millions three hundred and twenty thousand pounds ; besides as much more by stealth and counterfeits : I desire to know from you, whether the Parliament might not have addressed upon such an occasion ; what success they probably would have had ; and how many Drapiers would have risen to pester the world with pamphlets ? Yet that kingdom would not be so great a sufferer as ours in the like case ; because their cash would not be conveyed into foreign countries, but be hid in the chests of cautious thrifty men until better times. Then I desire, for the satisfaction of the public, that you will please to inform me, why this country is treated in so very different a manner in a point of such high importance ; whether it be on account of Poining's act ; of subordination ; dependence ; or any other term of art, which I shall not contest, but am too dull to understand.

I am very sensible that the good or ill success of Mr Wood will affect you less than any person of consequence in the kingdom ; because I hear you are so prudent as

to make all your purchases in England: and truly so would I, if I had money, although I were to pay a hundred years' purchase; because I should be glad to possess a freehold that could not be taken from me by any law to which I did not give my own consent; and where I should never be in danger of receiving my rents in mixed copper, at the loss of sixteen shillings in the pound. You can live in ease and plenty at Pepper-harrow, in Surrey; and therefore I thought it extremely generous and public-spirited in you to be of the kingdom's side in this dispute, by shewing without reserve your disapprobation of Mr Wood's design: at least if you have been so frank to others as you were to me; which indeed I could not but wonder at, considering how much we differ in other points; and therefore I could get but few believers, when I attempted to justify you in this article from your own words.

I would humbly offer another thought, which I do not remember to have fallen under the Drapier's observation. If these halfpence should once gain admittance, it is agreed, that, in no long space of time, what by the clandestine practices of the coiner, what by his own counterfeits, and those of others, either from abroad or at home, his limited quantity would be tripled upon us, until there would not be a grain of gold or silver visible in the nation. This, in my opinion, would lay a heavy charge upon the crown, by creating a necessity of transmitting money from England to pay the salaries at least of the principal civil officers: for I do not conceive how a judge (for instance) could support his dignity with a thousand pounds a-year in Wood's coin; which would not intrinsically be worth near two hundred. To argue that these halfpence, if no other coin were current, would

answer the general ends of commerce among ourselves, is a great mistake : and the Drapier has made that matter too clear to admit an answer, by shewing us what every owner of land must be forced to do with the products of it in such a distress. You may read his remarks at large in his second and third letter ; to which I refer you.

Before I conclude, I cannot but observe, that for several months past there have more papers been written in this town, such as they are, all upon the best public principle, the love of our country, than perhaps has been known in any other nation in so short time : I speak in general, from the Drapier down to the maker of ballads ; and all without any regard to the common motives of writers : which are profit, favour, and reputation. As to profit, I am assured by persons of credit, that the best ballad upon Mr Wood will not yield above a groat to the author ; and the unfortunate adventurer Harding* declares he never made the Drapier any present except one pair of scissars. As to favour, whoever thinks to make his court by opposing Mr Wood, is not very deep in politics. And as to reputation, certainly no man of worth and learning would employ his pen upon so transitory a subject, and in so obscure a corner of the world, to distinguish himself as an author. So that I look upon myself, the Drapier, and my numerous brethren, to be all true patriots in our several degrees.

All that the public can expect for the future, is, only to be sometimes warned to beware of Mr Wood's halfpence ; and to be referred for conviction to the Drapier's reasons. For a man of the most superior understanding

* The printer o the Drapier's Letters.—F.

will find it impossible to make the best use of it while he writes in constraint, perpetually softening, correcting, or blotting out expressions, for fear of bringing his printer, or himself, under a prosecution from my Lord Chief-Justice Whitshed. It calls to my remembrance the madman in Don Quixote, who being soundly beaten by a weaver for letting a stone (which he always carried on his shoulder,) fall upon a spaniel, apprehended that every cur he met was of the same species.

For these reasons I am convinced, that what I have now written will appear low and insipid; but if it contributes in the least to preserve that union among us for opposing this fatal project of Mr Wood, my pains will not be altogether lost.

I sent these papers to an eminent lawyer, (and yet a man of virtue and learning into the bargain,) who, after many alterations, returned them back, with assuring me that they are perfectly innocent; without the least mixture of treason, rebellion, sedition, malice, disaffection, reflection, or wicked insinuation whatsoever.

If the bellman of each parish, as he goes his circuit, would cry out every night "Past twelve o'clock; Beware of Wood's halfpence;" it would probably cut off the occasion for publishing any more pamphlets; provided that in country towns it were done upon market-days. For my own part, as soon as it shall be determined that it is not against law, I will begin the experiment in the liberty of St Patrick's; and hope my example may be followed in the whole city. But if authority shall think fit to forbid all writings or discourses upon this subject, except such as are in favour of Mr Wood, I will obey, as it becomes me; only, when I am in danger of burst-

ing, I will go and whisper among the reeds, not any reflection upon the wisdom of my countrymen ; but only these few words, **BEWARE OF WOOD'S HALF-PENCE.** I am, with due respect,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

J. S.

LETTER VII.

AN HUMBLE ADDRESS TO BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.*

BY M. B., DRAPIER.

“ Multa gement plagasque superbi
Victoris——”

I HAVE been told, that petitions and addresses, to either King or Parliament, are the right of every subject, provided they consist with that respect which is due to princes and great assemblies. Neither do I remember, that the modest proposals or opinions of private men have been ill-received, when they have not been delivered in the style of advice ; which is a presumption far from my thoughts. However, if proposals should be looked upon as too assuming, yet I hope every man may be suffered to declare his own and the nation's wishes. For instance ; I may be allowed to wish, that some farther laws were enacted for the advancement of trade ; for the improvement of agriculture, now strangely neglected, against

* This address is without a date ; but it appears to have been written during the first session in Lord Carteret's government, though it did not appear till it was inserted, with the preceding letter, in the Dublin edition of 1735.—H.

the maxims of all wise nations; for supplying the manifest defects in the acts concerning the plantation of trees; for setting the poor to work; and many others.

Upon this principle I may venture to affirm, it is the hearty wish of the whole nation, very few excepted, that the Parliament, in this session, would begin by strictly examining into the detestable fraud of one William Wood, now or late of London, hardwareman; who illegally and clandestinely, as appears by your own votes and addresses, procured a patent in England for coining halfpence in that kingdom to be current here. This, I say, is the wish of the whole nation, very few excepted; and upon account of those few, is more strongly and justly the wish of the rest; those few consisting either of Wood's confederates, some obscure tradesmen, or certain bold **UNDERTAKERS**,* of weak judgment and strong ambition, who think to find their accounts in the ruin of the nation, by securing or advancing themselves. And because such men proceed upon a system of politics, to which I would fain hope you will be always utter strangers, I shall humbly lay it before you.

Be pleased to suppose me in a station of fifteen hundred pounds a-year, salary and perquisites: and likewise possessed of 800*l.* a-year, real estate. Then suppose a destructive project to be set on foot; such, for instance, as this of Wood; which, if it succeed in all the consequences naturally to be expected from it, must sink the rents and wealth of the kingdom one half, although I am

* This was a phrase used in the time of Charles II., to express those dashing ministers who obtained power by undertaking to carry through particular favourite measures of the crown. But the Dean applies it with his usual studied ambiguity, so that it may be explained as meaning schemers or projectors in general.

confident it would have done so five-sixths : suppose, I conceive that the countenancing, or privately supporting, this project, will please those by whom I expect to be preserved, or higher exalted : nothing then remains, but to compute and balance my gain and my loss, and sum up the whole. I suppose that I shall keep my employment ten years, not to mention the fair chance of a better. This, at 1500*l.* a-year, amounts in ten years to 15,000*l.* My estate, by the success of the said project, sinks 400*l.* a-year ; which, at twenty years' purchase, is but 8000*l.* ; so that I am clear gainer of 7000*l.* upon the balance. And during all that period I am possessed of power and credit, can gratify my favourites, and take vengeance on mine enemies. And if the project miscarry, my private merit is still entire. This arithmetic, as horrible as it appears, I knowingly affirm to have been practised and applied, in conjunctures whereon depended the ruin or safety of a nation ; although probably the charity and virtue of a senate will hardly be induced to believe, that there can be such monsters among mankind. And yet the wise Lord Bacon mentions a sort of people (I doubt the race is not yet extinct) who would "set a house on fire for the convenience of roasting their own eggs at the flame."

But whoever is old enough to remember, and has turned his thoughts to observe, the course of public affairs in this kingdom from the time of the Revolution, must acknowledge, that the highest points of interest and liberty have been often sacrificed to the avarice and ambition of particular persons, upon the very principles and arithmetic that I have supposed. The only wonder is, how these artists were able to prevail upon numbers,

and influence even public assemblies, to become instruments for effecting their execrable designs.

It is, I think, in all conscience, latitude enough for vice, if a man in station be allowed to act injustice upon the usual principles of getting a bribe, wreaking his malice, serving his party, or consulting his preferment, while his wickedness terminates in the ruin only of particular persons; but to deliver up our whole country, and every living soul who inhabits it, to certain destruction, has not, as I remember, been permitted by the most favourable casuists on the side of corruption. It were far better, that all who have had the misfortune to be born in this kingdom should be rendered incapable of holding any employment whatsoever above the degree of a constable, (according to the scheme and intention of a great minister,* *gone to his own place,*) than to live under the daily apprehension of a few false brethren among ourselves; because, in the former case, we should be wholly free from the danger of being betrayed,—since none could then have impudence enough to pretend any public good.

It is true, that in this desperate affair of the new halfpence, I have not heard of any man above my own degree of a shopkeeper, to have been hitherto so bold, as, in direct terms, to vindicate the fatal project; although I have been told of some very mollifying expressions which were used, and very gentle expedients proposed and handed about, when it first came under debate; but since the eyes of the people have been so far opened, that the most ignorant can plainly see their own

* The Earl of Sunderland.—H.

ruin in the success of Wood's attempt, these grand compounders have been more cautious.*

But that the same spirit still subsists, has manifestly appeared, (among other instances of great compliance,) from certain circumstances that have attended some late proceedings in a court of judicature. There is not any common-place more frequently insisted on, by those who treat of our constitution, than the great happiness and excellency of trials by juries; yet, if this blessed part of our law be eludible at pleasure, by the force of power, frowns, and artifice, we shall have little reason to boast of our advantage in this particular over other states or kingdoms in Europe. And surely these high proceedings, exercised in a point that so nearly concerned the life-blood of the people, their necessary subsistence, their very food and raiment, and even the public peace, will not allow any favourable appearance; because it was obvious, that so much superabundant zeal could have no other design, or produce any other effect, than to damp that spirit raised in the nation against this accursed scheme of William Wood and his abettors,—to which spirit alone we owe, and for ever must owe, our being hitherto preserved, and our hopes of being preserved for the future, if it can be kept up and strongly countenanced by your wise assemblies. I wish I could account for such a demeanour upon a more charitable foundation, than that of putting our interest in over balance with the ruin of our country.

I remember some months ago, when this affair was fresh in discourse, a person nearly allied to SOME-

* Alluding to Sir Robert Walpole's overture.

BODY, or (as the hawkers called him) NOBODY, who was thought deeply concerned, went about very diligently among his acquaintance, to shew the bad consequences that might follow from any public resentment to the disadvantage of his ally Mr Wood, principally alleging the danger of all employments being disposed of from England. One of these emissaries came to me, and urged the same topic. I answered naturally, "that I knew there was no office of any kind which a man from England might not have, if he thought it worth his asking; and that I looked upon all who had the disadvantage of being born here, as only in the conditions of leasers and gleaners." Neither could I forbear mentioning the known fable of "the countryman, who entreated his ass to fly, for fear of being taken by the enemy; but the ass refused to give himself that trouble, and upon a very wise reason—because he could not possibly change his present master for a worse; the enemy could not make him fare harder, beat him more cruelly, or load him with heavier burdens."

Upon these, and many other considerations, I may affirm it to be the wish of the whole nation, that the power and privileges of juries were declared, ascertained, and confirmed by the legislature, and that whoever has been manifestly known to violate them might be stigmatized by public censure; not from any hope that such a censure will amend their practices, or hurt their interest, (for it may probably operate quite contrary in both,) but that the nation may know their enemies from their friends.

I say not this with any regard or view to myself, for I write in great security, and am resolved that none shall merit at my expense, farther than by shewing their

zeal to discover, prosecute, and condemn me, for endeavouring to do my duty in serving my country; and yet I am conscious to myself, that I never had the least intention to reflect on his Majesty's ministers, nor any other person except William Wood, whom I neither did, nor do yet, conceive to be of that number. However, some would have it that I went too far; but I suppose they will now allow themselves mistaken. I am sure I might easily have gone farther; and, I think, I could not easily have fared worse. And, therefore, I was no farther affected with their proclamation and subsequent proceedings, than a good clergyman is with the sins of the people. And as to the poor printer, he is now gone to appear before a higher, and before a righteous tribunal.

As my intention is only to lay before your great assemblies the general wishes of the nation, and as I have already declared it our principal wish that your first proceeding would be to examine into the pernicious fraud of William Wood, so I must add, as the universal opinion, that all schemes of commutation, composition, and the like expedients, either avowed or implied, will be of the most pernicious consequences to the public,—against the dignity of a free kingdom,—and prove an encouragement to future adventurers in the same destructive projects. For it is a maxim, which no man at present disputes, that even a connivance to admit one thousand pounds in these halfpence, will produce, in time, the same ruinous effects, as if we openly consented to admit a million. It were, therefore, infinitely more safe and eligible, to leave things in the doubtful, melancholy state they are at present, (which, however, God forbid!) and trust entirely to the general aversion of our people against this coin, using all honest endeavours to preserve, continue, and increase that aversion, than submit

to apply those palliatives, which weak, perfidious, or abject politicians are, upon all occasions, and in all diseases, so ready to administer.

In the small compass of my reading, (which, however, has been more extensive than is usual to men of my inferior calling,) I have observed, that grievances have always preceded supplies. And if ever grievances had a title to such pre-eminence, it must be this of Wood; because it is not only the greatest grievance that any country could suffer, but a grievance of such a kind, that, if it should take effect, would make it impossible for us to give any supplies at all, except in adulterate copper; unless a tax were laid, for paying the civil and military lists and the large pensions, with real commodities instead of money. Which, however, might be liable to some few objections, as well as difficulties; for, although the common soldiers might be content with beef, and mutton, and wool, and malt, and leather, yet I am in some doubt as to the generals, the colonels, the numerous pensioners, the civil officers and others, who all live in England upon Irish pay, as well as those few who reside among us only because they cannot help it.

There is one particular, which, although I have mentioned more than once in some of my former papers, yet I cannot forbear to repeat, and a little enlarge upon it; because I do not remember to have read or heard of the like in the history of any age or country, neither do I ever reflect upon it without the utmost astonishment.

After the unanimous addresses to his sacred Majesty, against the patent of Wood, from both Houses of Parliament, which are the three estates of the kingdom, and likewise an address from the Privy-council, to whom, under the chief governors, the whole administration is

intrusted, the matter is referred to a committee of council in London. Wood and his adherents are heard on one side; and a few volunteers, without any trust or direction from hence, on the other. The question, as I remember, chiefly turned upon the want of halfpence in Ireland. Witnesses are called on the behalf of Wood, of what credit I have formerly shewn. Upon the issue, the patent is found good and legal; all his Majesty's officers here, not excepting the military, commanded to be aiding and assisting to make it effectual; the addresses of both Houses of Parliament, of the Privy-council, and of the city of Dublin, the declarations of most counties and corporations through the kingdom, are altogether laid aside, as of no weight, consequence, or consideration whatsoever; and the whole kingdom of Ireland nonsuited in default of appearance, as if it were a private cause between John Doe, plaintiff, and William Roe, defendant.

With great respect to those honourable persons, the committee of council in London, I have not understood them to be our governors, councillors, or judges. Neither did our case turn at all upon the question, whether Ireland wanted halfpence or no. For there is no doubt, but we do want both halfpence, gold, and silver; and we have numberless other wants, and some that we are not so much as allowed to name, although they are peculiar to this nation; to which no other is subject, whom God has blessed with religion and laws, or any degree of soil and sunshine; but for what demerits on our side, I am altogether in the dark.

But I do not remember that our want of halfpence was either affirmed or denied in any of our addresses or declarations against those of Wood. We alleged the

fraudulent obtaining and executing of his patent ; the baseness of his metal ; and the prodigious sum to be coined, which might be increased by stealth, from foreign importation and his own counterfeits, as well as those at home ; whereby we must infallibly lose all our little gold and silver, and all our poor remainder of a very limited and discouraged trade. We urged, that the patent was passed without the least reference hither ; and without mention of any security given by Wood, to receive his own halfpence upon demand ; both which are contrary to all contrary proceedings in the like cases. These, and many other arguments, we offered, but still the patent went on ; and at this day our ruin would have been half completed, if God in his mercy had not raised a universal detestation of these halfpence in the whole kingdom, with a firm resolution never to receive them ; since we are not under obligations to do so by any law, either human or divine.

But, in the name of God, and of all justice and piety, when the King's Majesty was pleased that this patent should pass, is it not to be understood that he conceived, believed, and intended it, as a gracious act for the good and benefit of his subjects, for the advantage of a great and fruitful kingdom ; of the most loyal kingdom upon earth, where no hand or voice was ever lifted up against him ; a kingdom, where the passage is not of three hours from Britain, and a kingdom where Papists have less power and less land than in England ? Can it be denied or doubted that his Majesty's ministers understood and proposed the same end, the good of this nation, when they advised the passing of this patent ? Can the person of Wood be otherwise regarded than as the instrument, the mechanic, the head-workman, to

prepare his furnace, his fuel, his metal, and his stamps? If I employ a shoe-boy, is it in view to his advantage, or to my own convenience? I mention the person of William Wood alone, because no other appears; and we are not to reason upon surmises; neither would it avail, if they had a real foundation.

Allowing therefore (for we cannot do less) that this patent for the coining of halfpence was wholly intended by a gracious king, and a wise public-spirited ministry, for the advantage of Ireland; yet when the whole kingdom to a man, for whose good the patent was designed, do, upon maturest consideration, universally join in openly declaring, protesting, addressing, petitioning, against these halfpence, as the most ruinous project that ever was set on foot to complete the slavery and destruction of a poor innocent country; is it, was it, can it, or will it ever be a question, not, whether such a kingdom, or William Wood, should be a gainer; but whether such a kingdom should be wholly undone, destroyed, sunk, depopulated, made a scene of misery and desolation, for the sake of William Wood? God of his infinite mercy avert this dreadful judgment! And it is our universal wish, that God would put it into your hearts, to be his instruments for so good a work.

For my own part, who am but one man, of obscure condition, I do solemnly declare, in the presence of Almighty God, that I will suffer the most ignominious and torturing death, rather than submit to receive this accursed coin, or any other that shall be liable to these objections, until they shall be forced upon me by a law of my own country; and, if that shall ever happen, I will transport myself into some foreign land, and eat the bread of poverty among a free people.

Am I legally punishable for these expressions? shall another proclamation issue against me, because I presume to take my country's part against William Wood, where her final destruction is intended? But, whenever you shall please to impose silence upon me, I will submit; because I look upon your unanimous voice to be the voice of the nation; and this I have been taught, and do believe, to be in some manner the voice of God.

The great ignominy of a whole kingdom lying so long at mercy under so vile an adversary, is such a deplorable aggravation, that the utmost expressions of shame and rage are too low to set it forth; and therefore I shall leave it to receive such a resentment as is worthy of a parliament.

It is likewise our universal wish, that his Majesty should grant liberty to coin halfpence in this kingdom for our own use, under such restriction as a parliament here shall advise; since the power of coining even gold and silver is possessed by every petty prince abroad, and was always practised by Scotland, to the very time of the Union; yet surely Scotland, as to soil, climate, and extent, is not in itself the fourth part the value of Ireland, for Bishop Burnet says, "it is not above the fortieth part in value to the rest of Britain;" and with respect to the profit that England gains from hence, not the forty thousandth part. Although I must confess, that a mote in the eye, or a thorn in the side, is more dangerous and painful, than a beam or spike at a distance.

The histories of England, and of most other countries, abound in relating the miserable, and sometimes the most tragical effects, from the abuses of coin by debasing the metal, by lessening or enhancing the value upon occasions, to the public loss; of which we have an example

within our own memory in England, and another very lately in France. It is the tenderest point of government, affecting every individual in the highest degree. When the value of money is arbitrary or unsettled, no man can well be said to have any property at all; nor is any wound so suddenly felt, so hardly cured, or that leaves such deep and lasting scars behind.

I conceive this poor unhappy island to have a title to some indulgence from England, not only upon the score of Christianity, natural equity, and the general rights of mankind, but chiefly on account of that immense profit they receive from us; without which, that kingdom would make a very different figure in Europe from what it does at present.

The rents of land in Ireland, since they have been of late so enormously raised and screwed up, may be computed to about two millions; whereof one-third part at least is directly transmitted to those who are perpetual absentees in England, as I find by a computation made with the assistance of several skilful gentlemen.

The other articles, by which we are altogether losers, and England a gainer, we found to amount to almost as much more.

I will only set down as many heads of them as I can remember, and leave them to the consideration of those who understand accounts better than I pretend to do.

The occasional absentees for business, health, or diversion.

Three-fourths of the revenue of the chief governor, during his absence; which is usually four-fifths of his government.

The whole revenue of the post-office.

The numerous pensions paid to persons in England.

The pay of the chief officers of the army absent in England, which is a great sum.

Four commissioners of the revenue, always absent.

Civil employments, very numerous, and of great income.

The vast charge of appeals to the House of Lords, and to the Court of Delegates.

Students at the Inns of Court, and the two Universities.

Eighty thousand pounds sent yearly to England for coals; whereof the prime cost is nothing, and therefore the profit wholly theirs.

One hundred thousand pounds paid several years past for corn sent over hither from England; the effect of our own great wisdom in discouraging agriculture.

The kind liberty granted us of wearing Indian stuffs, and calicoes, to gratify the vanity and folly of our women; which, besides the profit to England, is an inconceivable loss to us, forcing the weavers to beg in our streets, or transport themselves to foreign countries.

The prodigious loss to us, and gain to England, by selling them all our wool at their own rates; whereof the manufacture exceeds above ten times the prime cost; a proceeding without example in the Christian or heathen world.

Our own wool returned upon us in English manufactures, to our infinite shame and damage, and the great advantage of England.

The full profit of all mines accruing to England; an effect of great negligence and stupidity.

An affectation among us of liking all kind of goods made in England.

These, and many other articles which I cannot recollect at present, are agreed by judicious men to amount

to near seven hundred thousand pounds per annum, clear profit to England;* and upon the whole, let any man look into those authors who write upon the subject of commerce, he shall find, that there is not one single article in the essentials or circumstances of trade, whereby a country can be a loser, which we do not possess in the highest perfection; somewhat in every particular, that bears a kind of analogy to William Wood; and now the branches are all cut off, he stands ready with his axe at the root.

Upon this subject of perpetual absentees, I have spent some time in very insignificant reflections; and, considering the usual motives of human actions, which are pleasure, profit, and ambition, I cannot yet comprehend how those persons find their account in any of the three. I speak not of those English peers or gentlemen, who, besides their estates at home, have possessions here, for in that case the matter is desperate; but I mean those lords, and wealthy knights, or squires, whose birth, and partly their education, and all their fortune (except some trifle, and that in a very few instances,) are in this kingdom. I knew many of them well enough during several years, when I resided in England; and truly I could not discover that the figure they made was by any means a subject for envy; at least it gave me two very different passions. For, excepting the advantage of going now and then to an opera, or sometimes appearing behind a crowd at Court, or adding to the ring of coaches at Hyde Park, or losing their money at the chocolate-house, or getting news, votes, and minutes, about five

* Many of the above articles have been since particularly computed in, "A List of the Absentees of Ireland, and the yearly Value of their Estates and Incomes spent abroad. By Thomas Prior, Esq."—F.

days before us in Dublin ; I say, besides these, and a few other privileges of less importance, their temptations to live in London were beyond my knowledge or conception. And I used to wonder how a man of birth and spirit could endure to be wholly insignificant and obscure in a foreign country, when he might live with lustre in his own, and even at less than half that expense which he strains himself to make without obtaining any one end, except that which happened to the frog, when he would needs contend for size with the ox. I have been told by scholars, that Cæsar said he would rather be the first man in I know not what village, than the second in Rome. This perhaps was a thought only fit for Cæsar : but to be preceded by thousands, and neglected by millions ; to be wholly without power, figure, influence, honour, credit, or distinction, is not, in my poor opinion, a very amiable situation of life to a person of title or wealth, who can so cheaply and easily shine in his native country.

But, besides the depopulating of the kingdom, leaving so many parts of it wild and uncultivated, the ruin of so many country-seats and plantations, the cutting down of all the woods to supply expenses in England, the absence of so many noble and wealthy persons has been the cause of another fatal consequence, which few perhaps have been aware of. For, if that very considerable number of lords who possess the amplest fortunes here had been content to live at home, and attend the affairs of their own country in Parliament, the weight, reputation, and dignity thereby added to that noble House, would, in all human probability, have prevented certain proceedings, which are now ever to be lamented, because they never can be remedied : and we might have

then decided our own properties among ourselves, without being forced to travel five hundred miles by sea and land to another kingdom for justice, to our infinite expense, vexation, and trouble ; which is a mark of servitude without example from the practice of any age or nation in the world.

I have sometimes wondered upon what motives the peerage of England were so desirous to determine our controversies ; because I have been assured, and partly know, that the frequent appeals from hence have been very irksome to that illustrious body : and whoever has frequented the Painted Chamber and Courts of Requests, must have observed, that they are never so nobly filled as when an Irish appeal is under debate.

The peers of Scotland, who are very numerous, were content to reside in their castles and houses in that bleak and barren climate ; and although some of them made frequent journeys to London, yet I do not remember any of their greatest families, till very lately, to have made England their constant habitation before the Union ; or, if they did, I am sure it was generally to their own advantage ; and whatever they got was employed to cultivate and increase their own estates ; and by that means enrich themselves and their country.

As to the great number of rich absentees under the degree of peers, what particular ill effects their absence may have upon this kingdom, beside those already mentioned, may perhaps be too tender a point for me to touch. But whether those who live in another kingdom upon great estates here, and have lost all regard to their own country, farther than upon account of the revenues they receive from it ; I say, whether such persons may not be prevailed on to recommend others to vacant seats,

who have no interest here except a precarious employment, and consequently can have no views but to preserve what they have got, or to be higher advanced; this, I am sure, is a very melancholy question, if it be a question at all.

But, besides the prodigious profit which England receives by the transmittal thither of two-thirds of the revenues of this old kingdom, it has another mighty advantage, by making our country a receptacle, wherein to disburden themselves of their supernumerary pretenders to offices; persons of second-rate merit in their own country, who, like birds of passage, most of them thrive and fatten here, and fly off when their credit and employments are at an end. So that Ireland may justly say, what Luther said of himself, **POOR** Ireland makes many rich!

If, amid all our difficulties, I should venture to assert that we have one great advantage, provided we could improve it as we ought, I believe most of my readers would be long in conjecturing what possible advantage could ever fall to our share. However, it is certain that all the regular seeds of party and faction among us are entirely rooted out; and if any new ones shall spring up, they must be of equivocal generation, without any seed at all; and will be justly imputed to a degree of stupidity, beyond even what we have been ever charged with upon the score of our birth-place and climate.

The parties in this kingdom (including those of modern date) are, first, of those who have been charged or suspected to favour the Pretender; and those who were zealous opposers of him. Secondly, of those who were for and against a toleration of Dissenters by law. Thirdly, of High and Low Church, or (to speak in the cant of

the times) of Whig and Tory. And, fourthly, of court and country. If there be any more, they are beyond my observation or politics; for, as to subaltern or occasional parties, they have been all derivations from the same originals.

Now it is manifest, that all these incitements to faction, party, and division, are wholly removed from among us. For, as to the Pretender, his cause is both desperate and obsolete. There are very few now alive who were men in his father's time, and in that prince's interest; and in all others, the obligation of conscience has no place.* Even the Papists in general, of any substance or estates, and their priests almost universally, are what we call Whigs, in the sense which by that word is generally understood. They feel the smart, and see the scars, of their former wounds; and very well know, that they must be made a sacrifice to the least attempts toward a change; although it cannot be doubted that they would be glad to have their superstition restored, under any prince whatsoever.

Secondly, The Dissenters are now tolerated by law; neither do we observe any murmurs at present from that quarter, except those reasonable complaints they make of persecution, because they are excluded from civil employments; but their number being very small in either House of Parliament, they are not yet in a situation to erect a party: because, however indifferent men may be with regard to religion, they are now grown wise enough to know, that if such a latitude were allowed to Dissenters, the few small employments left us in cities and corporations would find other hands to lay hold on them.

* The obligation arising from their having sworn allegiance.—H.

Thirdly, The dispute between High and Low Church is now at an end ; two-thirds of the bishops having been promoted in this reign, and most of them from England, who have bestowed all preferments in their gift to those they could well confide in : the deaneries all, except three, and many principal church-livings, are in the donation of the crown : so that we already possess such a body of clergy, as will never engage in controversy upon that antiquated and exploded subject.

Lastly, As to court and country parties, so famous and avowed under most reigns in English Parliaments : this kingdom has not, for several years past, been a proper scene whereon to exercise such contentions ; and is now less proper than ever ; many great employments for life being in distant hands, and the reversions diligently watched and secured ; the temporary ones of any inviting value are all bestowed elsewhere, as fast as they drop ; and the few remaining, are of too low consideration to create contests about them, except among younger brothers, or tradesmen like myself. And therefore, to institute a court and country party, without materials, would be a very new system in politics, and what I believe was never thought on before : nor, unless in a nation of idiots, can ever succeed ; for the most ignorant Irish cottager will not sell his cow for a groat.

Therefore I conclude, that all party and faction, with regard to public proceedings, are now extinguished in this kingdom ; neither does it appear in view how they can possibly revive, unless some new causes be administered ; which cannot be done, without crossing the interests of those who are the greatest gainers by continuing the same measures. And general calamities, without hope of redress, are allowed to be the great uniters of mankind.

However we may dislike the causes, yet this effect of begetting a universal concord among us, in all national debates, as well as in cities, corporations, and country neighbourhoods, may keep us at least alive, and in a condition to eat the little bread allowed us in peace and amity. I have heard of a quarrel in a tavern, where all were at daggers drawing, till one of the company cried out, desiring to know the subject of the quarrel ; which when none of them could tell, they put up their swords, sat down, and passed the rest of the evening in quiet. The former part has been our case, I hope the latter will be so too ; that we shall sit down amicably together, at least until we have something that may give us a title to fall out, since nature has instructed even a brood of goslings to stick together, while the kite is hovering over their heads.

It is certain, that a firm union in any country, where every man wishes the same thing with relation to the public, may, in several points of the greatest importance, in some measure supply the defect of power, and even of those rights which are the natural and undoubted inheritance of mankind. If the universal wish of the nation upon any point were declared, by the unanimous vote of the House of Commons, and a reasonable number of Lords, I should think myself obliged in conscience to act in my sphere according to that vote ; because, in all free nations, I take the proper definition of law to be the will of the majority of those who have the property in land ; which, if there be a monarchy, is to be confirmed by the royal assent. And although such votes or declarations have not received such a confirmation for certain accidental reasons, yet I think they ought to be of much weight with the subject, provided they nei-

ther oppose the King's prerogative, endanger the peace of the nation, nor infringe any law already in force; none of which, however, can reasonably be supposed. Thus, for instance, if nine in ten of the House of Commons, and a reasonable number of native temporal peers, should declare, that whoever received or uttered brass coin, excepting under certain limitations and securities, should be deemed as enemies to the King and nation; I should think it a heinous sin in myself to act contrary to such a vote: and if the same power should declare the same censure against those who wore Indian stuffs and calicoes, or woollen manufactures imported from abroad, whereby this nation is reduced to the lowest ebb of misery, I should readily, heartily, and cheerfully pay obedience; and to my utmost power persuade others to do the like: because there is no law of this land obliging us either to receive such coin, or to wear such foreign manufactures.

Upon this last article, I could humbly wish that the reverend the clergy would set us an example, by contenting themselves with wearing gowns and other habiliments of Irish drapery; which, as it would be some incitement to the laity, and set many hands to work, so they would find their advantage in the cheapness, which is a circumstance not to be neglected by too many among that venerable body. And in order to this, I could heartily desire, that the most ingenious artists of the weaving trade could contrive some decent stuffs and silk for clergymen, at reasonable rates.

I have pressed several of our most substantial brethren, that the whole corporation of weavers in silk and woollen would publish some proposals (I wish they would

do it to both Houses of Parliament,) inviting persons of all degrees, and of both sexes, to wear the woollen and silk manufactures of our own country; entering into solemn, mutual engagements, that the buyer shall have good, substantial, merchantable ware for his money, and at a certain rate, without the trouble of cheapening; so that, if I sent a child for a piece of stuff, of a particular colour and fineness, I should be sure not to be deceived; or, if I had reason to complain, the corporation should give me immediate satisfaction; and the name of the tradesman who did me the wrong should be published, and warning given not to deal with him for the future, unless the matter plainly appeared to be a mistake: for, besides the trouble of going from shop to shop, an ignorant customer runs the hazard of being cheated in the price and goodness of what he buys, being forced to an unequal combat with a dexterous and dishonest man in his own calling. Thus our goods fall under a general disreputation; and the gentry call for English cloth, or silk, from an opinion they have (and often too justly by our own faults,) that the goodness more than makes up for the difference of price.

Besides, it has been the sottish and ruinous practice of us tradesmen, upon any great demand of goods, either at home or from abroad, to raise the prices immediately, and manufacture the said goods more slightly and fraudulently than before.

Of this foul and foolish proceeding, too many instances might be produced; and I cannot forbear mentioning one, whereby this poor kingdom has received such a fatal blow, in the only article of trade allowed us of any importance, that nothing but the success of Wood's project could outdo it. During the late plague

in France, the Spaniards, who buy their linen cloths in that kingdom, not daring to venture thither for fear of infection, a very great demand was made here for that commodity, and exported to Spain : but, whether by the ignorance of the merchants, or dishonesty of the Northern weavers, or the collusion of both, the ware was so bad, and the price so excessive, that, except some small quantity which was sold below the prime cost, the greatest part was returned : and I have been told by very intelligent persons, that if we had been fair dealers, the whole current of the linen trade to Spain would have taken its course from hence.

If any punishments were to be inflicted on numbers of men, surely there could none be thought too great for such a race of traitors, and enemies to God and their country ; who, for the prospect of a little present gain, do not only ruin themselves (for that alone would be an example to the rest, and a blessing to the nation,) but sell their souls to hell, and their country to destruction. And if the plague could have been confined only to those who were partakers in the guilt, had it travelled hither from Marseilles, those wretches would have died with less title to pity than a highwayman going to the gallows.

But it happens very unluckily, that, for some time past, all endeavours or proposals from private persons to advance the public service, however honestly and innocently designed, have been called *flying in the King's face* ; and this, to my knowledge, has been the style of some persons, whose ancestors (I mean those among them who had any,) and themselves, have been flying in princes' faces these fourscore years ; and from their own inclinations would do so still, if their interest did not lead them rather to fly in the face of a kingdom,

which has given them wings to enable them for such a flight.

Thus, about four years ago, when a discourse was published, endeavouring to persuade our people to wear their own woollen manufactures, full of the most dutiful expressions to the King, and without the least party hint, it was termed "flying in the King's face;" the printer was prosecuted in the manner we all remember, and I hope it will somewhere be remembered farther, the jury kept eleven hours, and sent back nine times, till they were under the necessity of leaving the prisoner to the mercy of the court, by a special verdict; the judge on the bench invoking God for his witness, when he asserted, "that the author's design was to bring in the Pretender."

And thus also my own poor endeavours to prevent the ruin of my country by the admission of Wood's coin, were called by the same persons "flying in the King's face," which I directly deny; for I cannot allow that vile representation of the royal countenance in William Wood's adulterate copper, to be his sacred Majesty's face; or, if it were, my flying was not against the impression, but the baseness of the metal; because I well remembered that the image which Nebuchadnezzar commanded to be set up for all men to fall down and worship it, was not of *copper*, but pure *gold*. And I am heartily sorry we have so few royal images of that metal among us; the sight whereof, although it could hardly increase our veneration for his Majesty, which is already so great, yet would very much enliven it with the mixture of comfort and satisfaction.

Alexander the Great would suffer no statuary, except Phidias, to carve his image in stone or metal. How

must he have treated such an operator as Wood, who goes about with sackfuls of dross, odiously misrepresenting his Prince's countenance; and would force them by thousands upon every one of us, at about six times the value!

But, notwithstanding all that has been objected by William Wood himself, together with his favourers, abettors, supporters, either public or private; by those who connive at this project, or discountenance his opposers, for fear of lessening their favour, or hazarding their employments; by those who endeavour to damp the spirit of the people raised against this coin, or check the honest zeal of such as, by their writings or discourses, do all they can to keep it up; by those softeners, sweeteners, compounders, and expedient-mongers, who shake their heads so strongly, that we can hear their pockets jingle; I did never imagine, that, in detecting the practices of such enemies to the kingdom, I was flying in the King's face; or thought they were better representers of his Majesty, than that very coin, for which they are secret or open advocates.

If I were allowed to recite only those wishes of the nation, which may be in our power to attain, I think they might be summed up in these following.

First, That an end might be put to our apprehensions of Wood's halfpence, and to any danger of the like destructive scheme for the future.

Secondly, That halfpence might be coined in this kingdom by a public mint, with due limitations.

Thirdly, That the sense of both Houses of Parliament, at least of the House of Commons, were declared, by some unanimous and hearty votes, against wearing any silk or woollen manufactures imported from abroad;

as likewise against wearing Indian silks or calicoes, which are forbidden under the highest penalties in England: and it behoves us to take example from so wise a nation, because we are under a greater necessity to do so, since we are not allowed to export any woollen manufactures of our own, which is the principal branch of foreign trade in England.

Fourthly, That some effectual methods may be taken to civilize the poorer sort of our natives, in all those parts of this kingdom where the Irish abound, by introducing among them our language and customs; * for want of which they live in the utmost ignorance, barbarity, and poverty, giving themselves wholly up to idleness, nastiness, and thievery, to the very great and just reproach of too many landlords. And, if I had in me the least spirit of a projector, I would engage that this might be effected in a few years at a very inconsiderable charge:

Fifthly, That due encouragement should be given to agriculture; and a stop put to that pernicious practice of graziers engrossing vast quantities of land, sometimes at great distance, whereby the country is extremely depopulated.

Sixthly, That the defects in those acts for planting forest-trees might be fully supplied, since they have hi-

* Since this hint was suggested, several useful seminaries have been instituted, under the name of "Charter Working Schools," in Ireland, supported by the royal benefaction of a thousand pounds a-year, by a tax on hawkers and pedlars, and by voluntary subscriptions. The schools are for the education of boys and girls born of popish parents; in most of them, the children manufacture their own clothing, and the boys are employed in matters relative to husbandry.—F.

therto been wholly ineffectual, except about the demesnes of a few gentlemen ; and even there, in general, very unskilfully made, and thriving accordingly. Neither has there yet been due care taken to preserve what is planted, or to enclose grounds ; not one hedge in a hundred coming to maturity, for want of skill and industry. The neglect of copping woods cut down, hath likewise been of very ill consequence. And if men were restrained from that unlimited liberty of cutting down their own woods before the proper time, as they are in some other countries, it would be a mighty benefit to the kingdom. For, I believe, there is not another example in Europe, of such a prodigious quantity of excellent timber cut down in so short a time, with so little advantage to the country, either in shipping or building.

I may add, that absurd practice of cutting turf without any regularity, whereby great quantities of restorable land are made utterly desperate, many thousands of cattle destroyed, the turf more difficult to come at and carry home, and less fit for burning ; the air made unwholesome by stagnating pools and marshes ; and the very sight of such places offensive to those who ride by. Neither should that odious custom be allowed of cutting scraws, (as they call them,) which is flaying off the green surface of the ground to cover their cabins, or make up their ditches ; sometimes in shallow soils, where all is gravel within a few inches ; and sometimes in low ground, within a thin greensward, and sloughy underneath ; which last turns all into bog by this mismanagement. And I have heard from very skilful country men, that by these two practices in turf and scraws, the kingdom loses some hundreds of acres of profitable land every year ; besides the irreparable loss of many

skirts of bogs, which have a green coat of grass, and yet are mangled for turf; and besides the want of canals by regular cutting, which would not only be a great convenience for bringing their turf home at an easy rate, but likewise render even the larger bogs more dry and safe for summer pasture.

These, and some other speculations of the like kind, I had intended to publish in a particular discourse against this session of Parliament; because, in some periods of my life, I had opportunity and curiosity to observe from what causes those great errors in every branch of country management have arisen; of which I have now ventured to relate but few out of very many; whereof some, perhaps, would not be mentioned without giving offence, which I have endeavoured by all possible means to avoid. And, for the same reason, I chose to add here the little I thought proper to say on this subject.

But, as to the lands of those who are perpetual absentees, I do not see any probability of their being ever improved. In former times their tenants sat at easy rents; but for some years past they have been, generally speaking, more terribly racked by the dexterity of merciless agents from England, than even those who hold under the severest landlords here. I was assured upon the place, by a great number of credible people, that a prodigious estate, in the county of Cork, being let upon leases for lives, and great fines paid, the rent was so high, that the tenants begged leave to surrender their leases, and were content to lose their fines.

The cultivating and improvement of land is certainly subject worthy of the highest inquiry in any country, but especially in ours, where we are so strangely limited in every branch of trade that can be of advantage to us,

and utterly deprived of those which are of the greatest importance ; whereof I defy the most learned man in Europe to produce me an example from any other kingdom in the world ; for we are denied the benefit which God and nature intended to us, as manifestly appears by our happy situation for commerce, and the great number of our excellent ports. So that I think little is left us besides the cultivating of our own soil, encouraging agriculture, and making great plantations of trees, that we might not be under the necessity of sending for corn and bark from England, and timber from other countries. This would increase the number of our inhabitants, and help to consume our natural products as well as manufactures at home. And I shall never forget what I once ventured to say to a great man in England, “ That few politicians, with all their schemes, are half so useful members of a commonwealth as an honest farmer ; who, by skilfully draining, fencing, manuring, and planting, has increased the intrinsic value of a piece of land ; and thereby done a perpetual service to his country ;” which it is a great controversy whether any of the former ever did since the creation of the world ; but no controversy at all that ninety-nine in a hundred have done abundance of mischief.

Woods revived, or a Short Defence of his proceedings in London, Bristol, &c. in reference to the Kingdom of Ireland.—Printed in the year 1725.

For the two first of the following curious tracts the editor is obliged to Mr Barrett, by whose unceasing diligence of research they were recovered from rare pamphlets. The others are reprinted from broadside copies. The style and matter appear fully to vindicate our ascribing them to Swift.

A SHORT DEFENCE OF WOOD'S CONDUCT.

GENTLEMEN,

THE chief reason why, in the late controversy between my brass and your silver, I was so long silent, is this : When my patent was on foot, and all my barrels ready charged, waiting only for the word of command, if I should have offered anything in my own defence for such an unusual attack, you would justly have thought it a political stratagem, since my private interest was so principally concerned ; but that fear (to my sorrow) being now blown over, my patent being on its last legs, as plain Will Wood, brazier, I offer this to your consideration. About five years ago my thoughts were as humble as any one of my vocation, till my wife, thinking my name something ominous, out of natural affection to her dear husband, would needs persuade me to get above the

reach of her suspicion, often telling me, she knew not what might happen, but what could she or young Sapharia, my child, do, in case I should die a violent death. This, sirs, you must confess, was a very moving argument ; so that by her continual persuasions, the frequent admonitions of three or four Irish runagate rogues, who were copartners, and my own natural aversion to standing timber and its appurtenances, I at last consented to put in a claim for my patent, thinking by that means to free myself from such an unfortunate destiny, (which more than once threatened me and my companions). Now, I think these reasons were very sufficient, and I am as certain that even the disinterested Drapier himself would have accepted of a lordship, and been content to be honest on less terms than those that compelled me to be a coiner, and made me a rogue. I had no sooner got this patent, but my head ran upon politics. My Irish confidants represented your kingdom as a poor, pliable, soft people, in love with imposition ; they said, when they were in the kingdom they were the only knaves were in it, they had all the stings to themselves ; and that when they came away they left only poor simple honest men behind them.*

Upon hearing of this, gentlemen, I took into my serious consideration the softness of your tempers, and the shallowness of your judgments, and after a short debate between my authority and your stupidity, I concluded that the coin prescribed in my patent was too good for you. I thought if I gave you the worth of your money,

* See the Drapier's animadversions on the character of the witnesses from Ireland, examined on behalf of Wood.

or anything beyond the worst trash a brazier could prepare, I should in my conscience be guilty of a great extravagance, since my honesty would be lost upon you ; for I was assured there was not one among you knew the difference, or could tell when you were well used. I could not believe your mechanics were men of speculation, or that your Drapiers pretended to law and letters, and so I coined on, and, to say the truth, mended by experience ; for the last parcel I coined were of just the same value I thought your worships deserved, not worth a peck of potatoes. By this you may see how great was my opinion of you. But though your Drapier be a very shrewd counsellor for others, I think he is not very wise for himself ; for what could he expect by turning a public enemy to what I intended a private design, but to be made a saint, I hope, or a privy councillor ? No, for I am humbly of opinion he has not gold enough for either. Then what wonderful prospects, consistent with his great wisdom, could incite so unprofitable a passion ? Why certainly, either like the dog in the manger, because he expected no advantage, he would suffer nobody to get any ; or else because I coined nothing but brass, he thought I could command neither silver nor gold ; but if he had been so wise and good-natured as to have directed the copy of his first letter to the people of Ireland, to Will Wood, founder in Bristol, &c. he should never have had occasion for a second, if gold could have salved up the matter. But what has he got by it ? Praise ! The glorious, immortal, and ever famous Drapier has, by dint of pen and ink, most manfully and courageously conquered and put to flight a poor insignificant wretch of a brazier, who, like the frog in the fable,

would fain have been an ox, had not this noble protector so valiantly proved him a worm. And for this windy honour, he has refused what would give him real honour :—refused money for honour ! I don't believe there were ten of his worship's principles among the train of his fraternity. But if every one had been of his opinion, I should have staid at my furnace still. Gold was pretty prevalent, which the Drapier and some others of those honourable principles had like to have found to their cost. I must confess I was very unfortunate in my distribution, for I have ruined myself and benefitted nothing ; my patent and I both, I am afraid, are now going, one to courts, and t'other to gaol. I wish your politician gentleman could now shew a little more of his skill, in persuading the gaoler, since, if I go, 'tis certainly he sends me. I am now, gentlemen, in a very poor, melancholy condition. I think with a great deal of grief on my wife's suspicious words ; I even doubt myself ; nay, imagination has carried me so far, (since that fatal news of my patent's being laid before the council,) that I have often believed myself at the gallows, with the knot under my ear, ready to be turned off. I look upon my last actions, and this wicked patent, as the fulfilling of my wife's ominous prophecy, for what can I otherwise expect, if my late behaviour, (as I am told it will) should be known? the very thoughts of it bring Tyburn full in my view. Heaven make my wife a liar, and me a false prophet ! but how can a man forget it when he knows he deserves it? This wicked Drapier has made the people of England themselves consider my honesty ; could I purchase a little now, how happy should I be ! It is a strange thing a man can't be a cheat but he must give offence to every one. When I was an honest man,

my next neighbour hardly knew it ; nobody then took care to proclaim it ; but now I am a rogue, the whole world must witness it. My friends, I mean my Irish vagabonds, now say I was a fool to believe them, for they told me at first they were knaves, and so I should find them, and really that I might have observed, if they had not mentioned a word of it. I would say something in my vindication, but my conscience throws this in my face, and points out my destiny. However, gentlemen, I leave this to your consideration, would not any man, the Drapier and such kind excepted, that was fed up with the same hopes, do as I have done ? Would not any man cheat his brother, if he could, to gain so considerably ? I expected, by this time, it would have been at least Honourable Sir William Wood, Baronet, and that my lady wife would have been no longer kitchen-maid. These you must confess, gentlemen, were arguments very prevailing. I did not strive to cheat Ireland for nothing ; I had many thousand valuable reasons for what I did ; I expected to coin all Munster into halfpence and farthings for my private use ; I had the seats in Ireland in my eye ready for purchasing ; in short, when all my brass was gone, I thought I should be nothing but gold and silver. But how unluckily are my hopes frustrated !—my patent almost turned to an indictment ; my title of knight to that of a rogue ; my fine seats to Bristol gaol, and my coach going to Parliament to a cart, I am afraid, travelling to Tyburn. While there was water between me and my accusation, I thought myself pretty secure ; but when I am arraigned in my own hearing, attacked in my own garrison, what can I expect ? The honourable Mr Shippen (Lord, that I should have the misfortune to deal with honest

men¹⁾ has emphatically condemned and executed me. He says he hopes to see my patent laid before the House, which is as much as to say, he hopes to see me hanged and gibbeted ; for that I shall certainly be, if it comes under their inspection. You will perhaps ask why I was a rogue, when it was in my own power to hinder it, and why I did not go according to the rules of my patent, since my safety depended upon it. To this I answer, it was not to oblige Ireland, but myself, that I got this patent. I thought I might easily have slipt in one barrel of mine among ten of yours ; I could not believe it was any way dishonest to cheat, so it was done cunningly ; much less did I ever expect to be called to account for it after ; for if my money had once been current, you should never have wanted change as long as there were men and mines in England. Others would have thanked me for my kindness ; but you strive to reward me with an halter,—a kindness I'd much rather see than feel ; but if it be ordained, designed, and resolved that I must die by myself, and my patent return from whence it came, I shall proclaim myself a sad example to all unfortunate covetous rogues to shun my destiny, and beware of brass, lest they fall into the same snare, and if they expect to thrive, never to cheat Ireland, but continually remember, *Hibernia, nemo te impune lacesset*. But what is a much greater grief to me, I am afraid that my dear friends and correspondents, and other partakers in iniquity, will undergo the same punishment ; for though their names don't much resemble the gallows, their faces are shrewdly suspicious, and mostly carry violent signs and tokens. It has been my misfortune to determine whether roguery is an innate principle in me, or one infused by their inflicting exam-

ple. What Mr Shippen has said of Lord Stafford and Lord Essex, has so toucht me, that the effects has left me in a dismal condition. Not that I fear! nor should my friends fear an axe, for I believe and am partly assured that since our crimes and c—ndence have been mutual, we shall all certainly be rewarded alike, and de—pend on my namesake. Now, gentlemen, I shall conclude this paper with as much sincerity as if I was already at the highest step of the ladder, G—d knows how soon that may come, and so I'll speak truth. My blessings to the Drapier, for though he has ruined me, if I survive I shall return the acknowledgment, and so conclude,

Gentlemen,

Your unfortunately disappointed and humble servant,

WILL. WOOD.

No. II. From a pamphlet in Library of Trinity College, Dublin, marked RR. 22. 57.

The true State of the Case, between the Kingdom of Ireland of the one part, and Mr William Wood of the other part. By a Protestant of Ireland. Dublin: Printed by John Harding in Molesworth's Court.

THE said William Wood obtains letters-patent under the seal of Great Britain for the kingdom of Ireland, to coin halfpence for the use of such persons there as should be willing to take them. These letters-patent were procured without consulting either the Lord-lieutenant, Lords-justices, or Privy-council of Ireland, or any other proper method taken (as in all cases of im-

portance is most reasonable, and has so been used) rightly to inform his Majesty, whether the coining such halfpence and farthings would be for his Majesty's service, or the benefit of his subjects of that kingdom, where they were intended to be made current. When a patent of this sort is granted to any private undertaker, it is highly reasonable, and accordingly (as I am informed) has always so been practised, that he should give good and sufficient security at all times to indemnify all such persons as take his coin at the current value. Whether any such security has been given by William Wood I know not; but suppose it to be so, yet since he and his security are both in Great Britain, how is it possible for us here in Ireland to tender his halfpence to him, when at any time we would have them exchanged: or to get remedy against him and his security, in case they refuse to change them? By virtue of these letters-patent, the said Mr Wood sets up his said coinage in Great Britain. And if at that distance he should coin double the quantity of copper which he was allowed to do, and import the same into Ireland, it would be morally impossible for the people of Ireland to detect him; or, in case they should detect him, yet it does not appear how they could well come by any remedy or reparation for the great loss which they must undoubtedly sustain thereby. If the said William Wood should coin no more than 360 ton of the best copper which he has yet made use of, and in all other things should exactly keep to the rule prescribed to him by his said letters-patent; the halfpence and farthings arising out of that quantity of copper are computed to amount to 90,000*l.*; whereas the value of the copper itself is computed to amount to no more than 36,000*l.* If, therefore, the kingdom of Ireland

should receive just that quantity of halfpence and farthings, and according to the weight directed by the said letters-patent, the loss upon the balance would be no less than 54,000*l*. But a very great number of his halfpence being found to be much below the weight prescribed by the letters-patent, and there being no effectual way that we know to hinder him from coining as many more of the same lightness as he pleases, and sending whatever quantity of them he has a mind to into this kingdom; the consequence must be, that it will be in his power to double and redouble the loss upon us, until he has reduced the kingdom to the utmost poverty. About five or six and forty years bygone, there were certain brass tokens current in the city of Dublin, commonly called the butcher's halfpence; for the exchanging of which the undertaker who coined them had given sufficient security to the Lord Mayor and corporation. This same undertaker privately counterfeited his own halfpence, insomuch, that for one of the original stamp, ten or more counterfeits were going, which, when some person brought to him to be exchanged, he alleged that he was not bound to change them, because they were counterfeits; and having so cunningly carried on the matter, as that the cheat could not easily be proved against him; nor would any one man upon account of the loss of (it may be) forty or fifty shillings, undertake the lawsuit; the people never had any satisfaction that I can hear of, although the whole city, taken together, were among them all losers of perhaps little less than 1000*l*. or thereby. Whether the like fraud may be charged on Mr Wood, I cannot positively say; but certain it is that some halfpence, (and some casks of them I am told,) of a stamp somewhat different from the first which he

put out, and of less weight, were brought into Ireland, with which when he was charged, I am informed that he declared that all those halfpence which did not exactly agree with the original stamp, were counterfeits, for which he was not obliged to answer; and who shall secure the kingdom against such a cheat, in case that Mr Wood or any other person shall counterfeit his halfpence, and send casks of them over hither, which may easily be vended before the fraud be discovered? If these new halfpence and farthings should ever be suffered to become current, the factors for them would make no difficulty of giving large allowance to all who would give gold, silver, or valuable commodities for them. Of this I say they would make no difficulty, partly because it would be the only way speedily and easily to bring a very great quantity of them into the kingdom; and partly because it would be in their own power, by coining more and more of them, (wherein I see not how we could restrain or controul them,) to repair to themselves whatever seeming loss they may be supposed to sustain by the discount; and the present gain by this allowance would make many here so greedy of them, as to strive who should first get and vend them before their value should fall; so that in a short time the nation would probably be glutted with them, and they would unavoidably become a very great burden and clog upon all sorts of trade and business, as shall presently be shewn. If one twentieth part of circulating cash of a country be in halfpence and farthings, it will be very sufficient for exchange in all the retailing trade; and if the retailing value of so much small money be somewhat below what it passes for, the inconvenience will not be great, because, being in no great quantity, it keeps in constant motion, and quickly passes from

hand to hand, so that no man will be supposed to have more of it at a time than what he has almost present occasion to pass away, or may easily put into the hands of another who may have such occasion for it. But if a tenth, or much more if a fifth or fourth part, of the nation's cash be in such sort of money, and the real value thereof not above one third (or thereabout) of what it is made to be current for, the damage to the people must thereby be very great. A fifth part is four twentieths; one of those twentieths is abundantly sufficient, in very small sums, to answer all the necessities of the retailing trade, which is the proper and only profitable use of such sort of small money: and where greater sums are to be paid, every man, as much as he can, will avoid taking such coin as is far short of the real value for which it is made to go; so that the other three twentieths must either lie dead upon the hands of those who have taken them, or, at least, circulate at great disadvantage, as we shall see by and by. Since, then, the whole circulating cash of Ireland has never been computed at more than 500,000*l.*, (and by many is reckoned to be much short of that,) and we have already in the kingdom at least 20,000*l.* in halfpence, (which was the sum allowed by the last patent to be coined; nor is it improbable that the patentee exceeds rather than came short of what he was allowed to do;) and since this stock of halfpence which we thus have, is by experience found to be abundantly sufficient for all the uses of such sort of money, so that we want no more of it, except perhaps a few farthings for the sake of the most minute part of the retailing trade, and the poorest of the people, I may well leave it to the consideration of every sober man, what a sad condition this poor kingdom will soon be reduced to,

in case that not only Mr Wood's halfpence to the quantity (for I cannot say the *value*) of 90,000*l.* should be made current amongst us, but also he should happen to pour in double that sum upon us, from the doing of which we have no way to hinder him, in case that for the sake of gain he should be tempted to do so; it being notorious, that the very best of his halfpence are not in real value above two-fifths, and the bulk of them not above one-third at most of what they are intended to pass for.

When a base sort of coin, in a much greater quantity than what is necessary for exchange in the retailing trade, is made current in a country, it in a little time naturally sinks from its current value, which it only retains in name, to its real and intrinsic value. Thus the late King James's brass money sunk every day more and more in its value, though the name of each piece was still the same, until at last one of his shillings, though still called a shilling, would not purchase above the worth of an halfpenny, even in that part of the kingdom which was under his power; and if so great an inundation of Mr Wood's halfpence, as I have but now mentioned, should break in upon us, the consequence, in as little a time, would be, that for three shillings in those halfpence, more could not be bought than for one shilling in silver. I do not indeed find, by Mr Wood's patent, that a man would be bound to receive his debts, or a landlord his rents, in these halfpence, in case they should become current, but yet from their currency these evil effects must unavoidably arise: *First*, The poor labourer would always be paid his wages, and the alewife for her drink, in these halfpence. *Secondly*, From hence it must follow, that almost all the King's hearth-money

and excise would be paid in the same coin ; and if the halfpence are allowed to become current by royal authority, I see not how they can be refused by the officers of his Majesty's revenue, especially when those who pay the greatest part of these two branches of it, have no other money wherewith to make their payments. *Thirdly*, It is most probable that a great part of his Majesty's customs, quit-rents, &c. and the postages of all letters, would also be paid in this sort of money ; and that, for that very purpose, men would buy it up at a low rate, as they used to do the late King James's brass coin. *Fourthly*, That all the private men in the army (to say nothing of officers civil and military) would be forced to receive their pay in the same ; for what other way would the King have to dispose of the vast quantity of halfpence, which unavoidably must come into his Treasury ; and if the poor soldier can get no more for his shillings in halfpence than what he might for a groat in silver (which unavoidably must be the consequence,) how will it be possible for him to subsist ? *Fifthly*, If landlords will not receive their rents, or any considerable part of them, in this sort of money (as we may be sure they will not, except some law, not now in being, be made to compel them), this must unavoidably break a multitude of tenants, especially of the poorer sort, who will sell their goods in small quantities, for which they will generally receive no other money, but halfpence ; and if the poor under tenants are broke, it will not be easy for the head-tenants, or even the landlords themselves, who depend upon their rents, long to subsist. *Lastly*, If more than 500,000*l.* has not room to circulate in Ireland, (as is generally computed,) and one-fifth part of this, or probably much more, be thus debased, the consequence will

be, that at least one-fifth part of our good coin, or perhaps a much greater proportion of it, being not to be employed here, will soon be carried away (and so *toties quoties*) to some other country, which, being added to the other evils already mentioned, will be a greater diminution to our stock and trade, if not the destruction of both, and, consequently, a very great lessening of his Majesty's revenue.

I will not, upon this occasion, pretend to insist upon it, that the Protestants of Ireland may be entitled to some favour from his Majesty. It is a satisfaction to us, that we have all along been faithful to, and zealous for his interest, and that of his illustrious house, together with the succession of the crown, as by law established. But what we therein did was our duty, and therefore I shall not plead it as our merit. All I desire is, that we may stand in the common rank of good subjects, to which I hope we have an undoubted title; and, when all that I have here said is duly weighed, I may well leave it to the consideration of every sober man, whether it can be for his Majesty's service, or our benefit, that these same halfpence of William Wood should be even connived at being made current amongst us in Ireland. P. S.—One thing will be worth remarking, I had like to have forgot. When the last patent was granted for coining of halfpence here, the sum was confined to 20,000*l.*, and, by the care of the government, I believe was not much exceeded; and yet, in a short time, the collectors everywhere throughout the kingdom received so great a part of the hearth-money and excise in these halfpence, that, being not able otherwise to dispose of them, they were forced to pay a great quantity of them in specie into the commissioners of the revenue, who often complained of

them as a burden. And, if this was the case when all the copper money in the kingdom made up little more than 20,000*l.*, what must it be when an addition is made not only of 90,000*l.*, which is the express allowance of Mr Wood's patent, but also of as much more as he shall think fit to send us? For the coinage being at such a distance from us, it is impossible that the government here can have any effectual check upon him.

LETTER TO WILLIAM WOODS, Esq.,

FROM

HIS ONLY FRIEND IN IRELAND.

*To William Woods, Esq., at his Copper-Works at
Bristol, or elsewhere.*

SIR,

I can't tell why it should be so, but I have made it my constant observation, that men of the most profound learning and greatest genius, who, by their elaborate study, have found out secrets and mysteries that have proved of the greatest advantage to mankind, have thereby gained more enemies than others with the grossest ignorance and vile qualification; which observation I have found summed up in you, who (except one) has not a friend in this whole kingdom; nay, what is worse, they are one and all your enemies. Know then, sir, I am that one who dare own myself your friend, and glory in being your admirer.—Miserable! That such an adept should not be admired among men, as the sun, for its glorious rays, is above all the planets. How have our witlings and little snarling scribblers been busy in setting the press at work! But go on, sir,—They blacken their paper, and not you. That which many men have destroyed

great estates, and cracked their brains to find out, (I mean the grand secret) and have burnt mountains of charcoal in making menstrua and tinctures, to transmute metals into gold, and are still as far from it as the longitude,—you have, without all this cost and trouble, brought to perfection, that out of copper, nay, the basest of copper, can extract pure gold and silver, at above cent. per cent. profit. Monstrous gain! prodigious art! And all this without the art of chemistry, only by greasing and daubing in a proper place. You shall be stiled the High German Artist.

I think, like lower artists on any new invention, you have got a patent only for fourteen years; but then I consider you are loaded with honour, as intrinsically valuable and weighty as your coin. Ay! and you are the phœnix of your order; for I dare swear you are the only tinker esquire in Great Britain. Had you consulted me or any friend, we would have told you, that you might have been a peer at a cheaper rate; but no matter for that. As the world goes, he that has money enough has birth and parts, and every qualification; so when you wallow in one, the other will come of course. And then, for your preamble, your personal endowment and merits, as well as those of your ancestors, although you was never heard of till now, unless when the parish cess was gathered for nursing of ——, your name perhaps was read in the list; and you know surnames have occasionally been given, some from colour, as White, Brown, &c., others from place, as having been left in a street, lane, field, or wood. But I think you did well to get the honour of an esquire first; for, when you come to have greater conferred, a lord, without being an esquire, will

be something like a knight, and no gentleman; so I think you have made a prudent step.

Would you, dear sir, but take a trip over hither to brow-beat those snarling scribblers, who will not dare to open their mouths to your face. I can't but think, when you go in your gilt chariot to the tavern, to remember your cousin-german, and the rest of your friends and abettors on the other side the water, how you will look down on those sorry invidious railers, who will go sneaking thither with small purses of gold in their pockets; when you will be followed with a train of tumbrils, loaded with your coin, one for every bottle of wine, and a waggon with six horses to pay for the supper. Then you will see the scene change, and the loud acclamations of the people, and the shouts of the mob, who will rejoice to lay their hands on you to present you with a fine cravat, for the good of our linen and hempen manufacture.

But let us for a while lay aside all our joys and thoughts of honour and grandeur, and turn our thoughts a little on answering our sorry politicians, who advance such paradoxes to injure you, when envy, only envy, is at the bottom. They cry out the nation will be undone by having too much money imported; and then they would fain draw all his Majesty's officers and servants into their quarrel, by saying the revenue will be lessened, and then all salaries must be ill paid. Poor politicians! they don't consider what a patriot you are; for you never began this project out of self-interest, but the good of his Majesty's dominions in general, and for this country in particular. As for the latter, it will increase trade amongst us in several particulars, and consequently raise the revenue; for we shall have money enough, and we shall all drink wine;—that or water; for we shall not

have a brewing-pan left. It will advance the coopers' trade, which will be employed in making casks to hold your coin;—it will advance house-rent; for every monied man, instead of a scriptore, or an iron chest, or strong box, must have a warehouse;—it will also employ the poor; for every person must have a man or two to wait on him to carry the common expenses of the day. Then, as to the general good, what a noble alliance will it make! When we drink nought but wine, sure then France will never quarrel with us. You shewed your great foresight in making this general friendship; you counterfeited your own coin, not out of any ill design; but, when it was objected to you, you alleged it was done in Holland. Oh, rare subterfuge! This was your policy to secure them. By giving them a hint what they may do, and what I am sure they will do; and when they can send their trash to a market at so great advantage, I dare swear all that while they will be our humble servants. Then there is Sweden with its copper will truckle to us. I can't but be pleased to think how we shall put the proud Spaniard, with his Peru and Mexico, out of countenance.

Then, besides all this, I can't but admire your religious goodness, for I find your aim in reformation of manners, which in a great measure has taken effect; for, among a great many other societies and bodies that have entered into associations against your coins, our mercenary ladies are resolved not to vend their wares for it. They say they have brass enough already; and, if they keep firm to that resolution, we must be chaste in our own defence. Then there are your pickpockets, who, by diving, can fetch up between their fingers as much as, with good management, may keep them some days, but when

your coin comes in vogue, a back-burthen of it will hardly fill their belly, and that is more than they daily acquire by their slight of hand ; so they must reform, and take up some other trade. Well, I protest I think you deserve to be highly exalted ; and, though every man does not get his reward in this world, that is no argument against his deserving it : and every good man ought to wish it. When a poor rogue picks a pocket for want, or robs on the road, we all wish him hanged for it, and sooner or later he gets it. Then what must that villain deserve, that, under the colour of law or authority, would plunder a whole nation ? I have read, in a very good book, that formerly there was one Alexander, a copper-smith, who did much harm to a good man, who thought it lawful, in his language, to pray the Lord to reward him according to his works ; and since you, the copper-smith of this age, have wrought such confusion to this nation, we may, from so good a precedent, in plain English, and I hope the Papists, who say their prayers in Latin, will join with us in one English prayer, which is, The Lord confound you, and all your devices, that would ruin our nation ! Which is the hearty prayer of,

Dear Will,

Your real friend, and humble servant,

HIBERNICUS.

A

LETTER TO WILLIAM WOOD,

FROM

A MEMBER OF THAT SOCIETY OF MEN, WHO, IN DERISION,
ARE CALLED QUAKERS.

FRIEND WILLIAM,

I WRITE not these lines to thee from any regard I have to thy person or thy coin ; so much as in obedience to some elders, who commanded I should expostulate with thee upon thy great presumption, inasmuch as thou dost still continue obstinately to persist in the evil of thy ways ; and for which thou mayest surely expect to receive the reward due unto thy great and manifold devices. Believe me, if it please thee, for verily in my time I remember not to have known a greater numbskull than thou art, even thyself ; notwithstanding all the friendly admonitions thou hast received time after time, thou art still soothing thy vanity, in expectation of what I am bold to affirm to thee will never come to pass. Believe me, friend, 'tis not in the power of thee or thine emissaries to compel me to take one single doit of thy filth in part payment for the worst yard of cloth in my warehouse, and I may assure thee the rest of the brethren (some few excepted) are of the same mind as to this particular. So that nothing can prompt thee to such

vile wickedness, unless thou hast, to all intents and purposes, delivered thyself up to the workings of the evil spirit; who is like unto a wily adversary that seeketh all methods of plying his engines until he receiveth men into his clutches; and then it is not thy Britannias, nor thy Hibernias, nor thy much more valuable Mammon of unrighteousness, (I mean thy gold or thy silver,) will extricate thee from the many sorrows thou wilt then be compassed with. And what (I pray thee) will avail thy patents, or thy grants, or thy other honours, which thou hast by thy false insinuations received by the great men of this world, who are not always moved by the spirit to do those things which appertain to our peace, but contrarywise to such as are not meet to be named. It doth not at present concern thy friend to speak to such sort of people, saving than as it falleth in the customs of discourse; so far as it may relate to thyself, and to whom it behooveth not, I should prescribe matters convenient to be done, otherwise than such as shall seem meet according to fleshly wisdom and maxims of profane men, who delight marvellously in heaping together worldly dross, that they may (as it is written) consume it on their lusts; and therefore, according to my first motive, I shall lay aside the further consideration of the subject matter I fell into, and more closely pursue the intention of this epistle, which is writ in all simplicity of mind, to bring thee (if possible) to some sense of thy duty, and the regard thou oughtest to have for the welfare of thy friends in particular, and thy neighbours in general.

Wert not thou then the vainest of sots to imagine thy scheme should be successful, without communing with the men who were to be the purchasers of thy coin?

Shouldest thou not look before thou'd leap? which would have prevented everybody from calling thee an ignorant ass, destitute of brains, in thinking to surmount such insuperable difficulties, which maketh all people to laugh at thy calamity, as it is owing to thyself; and verily, friend, I cannot better illustrate what I am saying, than to tell thee the history of the fox and the goat, who both being very much a-thirst, went into a well, but when they had drank somewhat plentiful, the matter remained how to come out. The fox proposed to the other; stand thou, saith he, on thy hinder legs upright, even thus, and then it will be easy for me to mount upon thy head, and get clear; it seemeth Reynard had nothing in view but his own profit, and lacking all compassion to his distressed friend, reproaching his simplicity, saying, if thou hadst as much brains in thy skull as beard on thy chops, thou would'st consider in thy going in, how thou should come forth again. But this (although it may seem somewhat foreign to the matter in hand) is, indeed, exactly thy case; and truly I marvel at thy great imprudence, in feeding thyself up with hopes of ever accomplishing thy sinister ends, since thou canst not but hear report of friend Jonathan's miraculous performances in three successive operations, wherein he hath given sight unto those which be blind, hearing unto the deaf, and speech unto them which lacketh understanding; and hath also laid open thy foul impostures to such a degree, as maketh me astonished at thy gross ignorance and stupidity; insomuch, that thy unrighteous gain, the wages of sin, which, (should thy project succeed) thou wouldest then have appropriated to thine own proper behoof, must in the end prove hurtful to thy future happiness, insomuch as to puzzle

thee in great abundance how to adjust thy Flemish account, which thou wilt be obliged to put in the clearest light before thou canst be received in the land of Canaan. 'Tis, therefore, the reason thy friend concerneth himself so much in thy behalf, not that he would give hindrance to the due execution of thy grant, but fearing lest the matter being reverst, execution should perchance be done upon thy carcass, that thou mightest, on thy namesake, *Wood*, expiate thy manifold offences, they being such as maketh men affirm this to be very much a just tribute due from thee for the disturbances thou hast given them in times past.

Therefore let me exhort thee in brotherly charity that thou repent thee of thine abominations, lest, peradventure, thou art forced unwillingly to go the way of all flesh, inasmuch as thou dwellest among a wicked and untoward generation ; which if thou shalt luckily escape, I do verily affirm, even as my soul liveth, thou art not the only man who hath gone off in a whole skin, nevertheless deserving stripes in abundance : But if thou shalt still continue obstinately perverse in thy impious practices, thou mayest surely expect the most severe treatment from such of the elders as thinketh themselves indispensably obliged to exclude thee their society, and then thy condition will be greatly astonishing, when thou wilt be delivered up to the government of the Prince of Darkness, even Belzebub, to whom thou seemeth to me to bear some sort of resemblance in thy manner of proceeding, both of ye bearing enmity to the children of men. I shall forbear any further admonitions to thee at this time, fearing lest I should tire thy patience. But if aught should offer itself, which may

chance be material to thy purpose, thou mayest expect still to hear from thy friend, as the spirit shall move. This being all the needful from him who writeth himself, in brotherly affection,

Thine,

ABRAHAM WOODHATER.

A FULL AND TRUE ACCOUNT
OF THE SOLEMN PROCESSION TO THE GALLOWES, AT THE
EXECUTION OF WILLIAM WOOD,
ESQUIRE, AND HARDWAREMAN, 1724.

SOME time ago, upon a report spread that William Wood, hardwareman, was concealed in his brother-in-law's* house here in Dublin, a great number of people of different conditions, and of both sexes, crowded about the door, determinedly bent to take revenge upon him as a coiner and a counterfeiter. Among the rest, a certain curious person standing in a corner, observed, that they all discovered their resentments in the proper terms and expressions of their several trades and callings; whereof he wrote down as many as he could remember; and he was pleased to communicate them to me, with leave to publish them for the use of those who, at any time hereafter, may be at a loss for proper words wherein to express their good disposition toward the said William Wood.

The people cried out to have him delivered into their hands.

* One Molyneux, an ironmonger.—F.

Says the Parliament man, *Expel* him from the *house*.

2d Parliament man. I second that *motion*.

Cook. I'll *baste* him.

2d Cook. I'll give him his *bellyful*.

3d Cook. I'll give him a *lick* in the *chaps*.

4th Cook. I'll *sowse* him.

Drunken-man. I'll beat him as long as I can *stand*.

Bookseller. I'll turn over a *new leaf* with him.

Saddler. I'll *pummel* him.

Glazier. I'll make the *light* shine through him.

Grocer. I'll *pepper* him.

Groom. I'll *curry* him.

'Potheary. I'll *pound* him.

2d 'Potheary. I'll beat him to *mummy*.

Schoolmaster. I'll make him an *example*.

Rabbit-catcher. I'll *ferret* him.

Paviour. I'll *thump* him.

Coiner. I'll give him a *rap*.

WHIG. *Down* with him.

TORY. *Up* with him.

Miller. I'll dash out his *grinders*.

2d Miller. *Dam* him.

Boatman. *Sink* him.

Scavenger. Throw him in the *kennel*.

Dyer. I'll beat him *black* and *blue*.

Bagnio man. I'll make the *house* too *hot* for him.

Whore. *Pox* rot him.

2d Whore. Let me *alone* with him.

3d Whore. *Clap* him up.

Mustard-maker. I'll take him by the *nose*.

Curate. I'll make the *devil* come out of him.

Popish priest. I'll *send* him to the devil.

Dancing-master. I'll *teach* him better manners.

2d Dancing-master. I'll make him cut a *caper* three story high.

Farmer. I'll *thrash* him.

Tailor. I'll sit on his *skirts*.

2d Tailor. *Hell* is too good for him.

3d Tailor. I'll *pink* his *doublet*.

4th Tailor. I'll make his a— *buttons*.

Basketmaker. I'll *hamper* him.

Fiddler. I'll have him by the *ears*.

2d Fiddler. I'll bang him to some *tune*.

Barber. I'll have him by the *beard*.

2d Barber. I'll pull his *whiskers*.

3d Barber. I'll make his *hair* stand on end.

4th Barber. I'll *comb* his *locks*.

Tinker. I'll try what *metal* he's made of.

Cobbler. I'll make *an end* of him.

Tobacconist. I'll make him set up his *pipes*.

2d Tobacconist. I'll make him *smoke*.

Goldfinder. I'll make him *stink*.

Hackney-coachman. I'll make him know his *driver*.

2d Hackney-coachman. I'll *drive* him to the devil.

Butcher. I'll have a *limb* of him.

2d Butcher. Let us *blow* him up.

3d Butcher. My *knife* in him.

Nurse. I'll *swaddle* him.

Anabaptist. We'll *dip* the rogue in the pond.

Ostler. I'll *rub* him down.

Shoemaker. Set him in the *stocks*.

Banker. I'll kick him to *half-crowns*.

2d Banker. I'll *pay* him off.

Bowler. I'll have a *rubber* with him.

Gamester. I'll make his *bones rattle*.

Bodice-maker. I'll *lace* his sides.

Gardener. I'll make him *water his plants*.

Alewife. I'll *reckon* with him.

Cuckold. I'll make him pull in his *horns*.

Old Woman. I'll *mumble* him.

Hangman. I'll *throttle* him.

But, at last, the people having received assurances that William Wood was neither in the house nor kingdom, appointed certain commissioners to hang him in effigy; whereof the whole ceremony and procession deserve to be transmitted to posterity.

First, the way was cleared by a detachment of the *black-guards*, with short sticks in their hands, and cockades of paper in their hats.

Then appeared William Wood, Esq. represented to the life by an old piece of carved timber, taken from the keel of a ship. Upon his face, which looked very dismal, were fixed, at proper distances, several pieces of his own coin, to denote who he was, and to signify his calling and his crime. He wore on his head a peruke, very artfully composed of four old mops; a halter about his neck served him for a cravat. His clothes were, indeed, not so neat and elegant as is usual with persons in his condition, (which some censorious people imputed to affectation,) for he was covered with a large rug of several colours in patchwork. He was borne on the shoulders of an able-bodied porter. In his march by St Stephen's Green, he often bowed on both sides, to shew his respects to the company. His deportment was grave; and his countenance, though somewhat pensive, was very composed.

Behind him followed his father alone, in a long mourning-cloak, with his hat over his nose, and a handkerchief in his hand to wipe tears from his face.

Next in order marched the executioner himself in person, whose venerable aspect drew the eyes of the whole assembly upon him; but he was farther distinguished by a halter, which he bore upon his left shoulder as a badge of his office.

Then followed two persons hand in hand. The one representing William Wood's brother-in-law; the other a certain saddler, his intimate friend, whose name I forget. Each had a small kettle in his hand, wherein was a reasonable quantity of the new halfpence. At proper periods they shook their kettles, which made a melancholy sound, like the ringing of a knell for their partner and confederate.

After these followed several officers, whose assistance was necessary for the more decent performance of the great work in hand.

The procession was closed with an innumerable crowd of people, who frequently sent out loud huzzas; which were censured by wiser heads as a mark of inhumanity, and an ungenerous triumph over the unfortunate, without duly considering the various vicissitudes of human life. However, as it becomes an impartial historian, I will not conceal one observation, that Mr Wood himself appeared wholly unmoved, without the least alteration in his countenance; only when he came within sight of the fatal tree, which happened to be of the same species of timber with his own person, he seemed to be somewhat pensive.

At the place of execution he appeared undaunted, nor was seen to shed a tear. He made no resistance, but submitted himself with great resignation to the hangman; who was indeed thought to use him with too much roughness, neither kissing him, nor asking him pardon.

His dying SPEECH was printed, and deserves to be written in letters of GOLD. Being asked, whether it were his own true genuine speech, he did not deny it.*

Those of the softer sex, who attended the ceremony, lamented that so comely and well *timbered* a man should come to so untimely an end. He hung but a short time; for, upon feeling his breast, they found it cold and stiff.

It is strange to think how this melancholy spectacle turned the hearts of the people to compassion. When he was cut down, the body was carried through the whole city to gather contributions for his wake; and all sorts of people shewed their liberality according as they were able. The ceremony was performed in an alehouse of distinction, and in a manner suitable to the quality of the deceased.

While the attendants were discoursing about his funeral, a worthy member of the assembly stood up and proposed, that the body should be carried out the next day, and burned with the same pomp and formalities used at his execution; which would prevent the malice of his enemies, and all indignities that might be done to his remains. This was agreed to; and, about nine o'clock on the following morning, there appeared a second procession. But burning not having been any part of the sentence, authority thought fit to interpose, and the corpse was rescued by the civil power.

We hear the body is not yet interred; which occasions many speculations. But, what is more wonderful,

* The speech alluded to may have been written by the Dean himself, in imitation of the Grub Street productions, usually called Dying Words. It is now, for the first time, published from a loose broadside, and subjoined to this tract.

it is positively affirmed, by many who pretend to have been eye-witnesses, that there does not appear to be the least alteration in any one lineament or feature of his countenance, nor visible decay in his whole frame, farther than what had been made by worms long before his execution. The solution of which difficulty I shall leave among naturalists.

[The following text is extremely faint and largely illegible due to fading and bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. It appears to be a continuation of the author's discussion, possibly mentioning names like 'William Wood' and 'John Wood'. The text is mirrored and difficult to decipher.]

WOOD'S CONFESSION

TO

THE MOB OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN.

GENTLEMEN,

As justice manifestly proves the main-spring on which men, endowed with the most noble faculties, generally move; so it exerts itself as the most rigid antagonist to human nature when once violated, even in the most minute respect.

I, William Wood, whose chief inclinations were to leave you in a wood, am sufficiently convinced, that I have in a great respect incurred your displeasure, by aiming at your ruin, at the levelling of so noble a country even to the ground, the inhabitants whereof never prejudiced me nor mine. With an aspect veiled over with gloomy confusion, and a conscience agitated by the greatest remorse, I am convinced I have merited, and am liable to suffer this punishment, which the laws of a just and a most wronged country have deemed convenient to be inflicted on me.

In the first respect, I have most vilely abused a gift conferred on me by so good a protector, and so gracious a King; and, in the next place, proposed to build my fortune on the ruined foundations of an innocent kingdom. Yet I hope that my damnable inclinations may

not survive me; or my degeneracy from my indigent, yet honest ancestors, remain an aspersion to my innocent posterity.

My parents' fortune proving insufficient, and my faculties somewhat incapable, they endeavoured (and, to be sure, with no small expense) to procure me an employment, whereby I might enjoy an honest living, and prove a credit both to them and myself.

At the expiration of my apprenticeship, being by an indenture bound to a brazier, they endeavoured by degrees to purchase for me instruments, and, by my own sedulity, I endeavoured to increase them. But, setting up for myself, in a short time I came into tolerable good acquaintance, and good business; and at length obtained a patent from our most gracious King George, by the interest of others, for the coining of halfpence and farthings for the use of one of his Majesty's dominions, called Ireland.

But I, like a grand j——r, a designing k——e, and perfidious v——n, (which humble confession, with my life, I am apt to think are sufficient to make a restitution for my frustrated stratagem,) applied my gift to a wrong use.

Therefore, as it hath been my misfortune to trace the paths of unhappiness, pity my disconsolate condition. Reproach me not hereafter so vilely as ye have done me heretofore, but let your rebukes be mitigated with the sweets of lenity; and say, as it was told to Alexander the coppersmith, I have done you much wrong,—for which I pray that I may be indulged at the great bar of my offended Creator.

You'll see, gentlemen of the mob, that, in a little time, I hope to find out some way or other to make you

all satisfaction for the great care that you have taken of me. Some of you have made a good hand by me already, and will make more in a short time; but I assure you, that you shan't have one halfpenny or farthing of my money into your country, for I will find some other place for 'em.

Sure this will quell your loud acclamations against me, and prevent any farther mobs.

For the performance of the above, I give under my hand,

WILL. WOOD.

Dublin: Printed by C. C. 1724.

THE DRAPIER'S LETTER

TO THE GOOD PEOPLE OF IRELAND. 1745.

IN the year 1745, while the insurrection of that memorable period was raging in Scotland, Lord Chesterfield arrived as Lord-lieutenant in Ireland. Swift was then in a state of absolute imbecility, and soon after dropt into the grave. But in the meanwhile, the following paper was published under so popular a name, to divert the Irish from acceding to the schemes of the Jacobites. The wit, spirit, and happy imitation of the Drapier's style, render it highly probable, that the paper was drawn by Chesterfield himself. It had a great run, and produced all the effect upon the popular mind which the author could have desired.

MY DEAR COUNTRYMEN,

IT is now some considerable time since I troubled you with my advice ; and, as I am growing old and infirm, I was in good hopes to have been quietly laid in my grave, before any occasion offered of addressing you again ; but my affection for you, which does not decay, though my poor body does, obliges me once more to put you in mind of your true interests, that you may not unwarily run yourselves into danger and distress, for want of understanding or seriously considering it.

I have many reasons to believe, that there are not few among you, who secretly rejoice at the rebellion which is now raised in Scotland, and perhaps conceive hopes of some alteration for the better, in their circumstances and condition, if it should succeed. It is those mistaken people whom I design to talk to in this letter, and I desire no more of them than to give me a fair hearing ; examining coolly with themselves, whether what I shall say be true.

It is no objection to my speaking to them, that they are generally Papists. I do not know how other people are disposed; but, for my part, I hate no man for his religion; I look upon a Papist as my countryman and neighbour, though I happen myself to be a Protestant. And, if I know what advice is good for him, I can see no reason why I should not give it him, or why he should not take it.

A Papist has sense, I suppose, like other men, to see his interest and advantage, and the same natural desire to embrace it where he finds it; and, if I can shew him where it lies, he will not, I believe, kick it from him, barely to spite me as a Protestant.

I have nothing to say to the Popish gentry of this kingdom. They would hardly take such a plain man's advice; and, besides, they have so many ways of coming off safe themselves, though the poor people were undone, that I need not be concerned for them.

My care is for the common people—the labourers, farmers, artificers, and tradesmen of this nation; who are in danger of being deluded by their betters, and made tools of to serve their purposes, without any advantage to themselves. It is possible, that, among the lords and squires, one perhaps of a hundred would get something by the change. Places and employments will be promised them, no doubt; and a few of those promises, perhaps, the French and Scotch friends of the Pretender might give him leave to keep. But what are the poorer sort the better all this while? Will the labourer get one farthing a day more? Will the farmer's rent be lowered? Will the artificer be more employed, or better paid? Will the tradesman get more customers, or have fewer scores upon his books?

I have been bred in a careful way of life; and never ventured upon any project without consulting my pillow first how much I should be a gainer in the upshot. I wish my good countrymen would do so too; and, before they grow fond of change, ask themselves this sober question, Whether it would better their condition if it were really brought about? If it would not, to what purpose do we wish it? If the poor labourer, when all is over, is to be a labourer still, and earn his groat a day as hardly as he did before, I cannot find why he should think it worth his while to venture a leg or an arm, and the gallows too into the bargain, to be just where he set out. If he must dig and delve when the Pretender is settled on the throne, he had as good stick to it now, for any difference I can see.

I believe my countrymen are not so mad as to imagine the Pretender can, or will, give every one of them estates; and I am sure, if he

does not, they can be only where they were. If a farmer must pay his rent, I see no reason that he should be much concerned whether he pays it to one man or another. His Popish landlord will, I suppose, demand it as soon and as strictly as a Protestant; and, if he does not pay it, pound his cattle, or distrain his goods, as readily at least.

I have not observed, that tenants to Popish landlords wear tighter clothes, ride better cattle, or spend more money at markets and fairs, than the tenants on Protestants' estates; therefore I cannot believe they are better used. On the contrary I know, from long experience, that there is more money taken in my shop from the latter than the former; and therefore I suppose, that, generally speaking, they are in better circumstances. I could wish all of them had better bargains; but since they will not be mended by the best successes that their own hearts could wish to the Pretender, they may as well be quiet, and make the best of such as they have already.

There is not a more foolish trade than fighting for nothing; and I hope my good countrymen will be too wise to be persuaded into it. Fine speeches and fair promises will not be wanting to delude them; but let them remember the warning I now give them; that, when all is over, the very best that can befall them is, to have their labour for their pains.

I doubt not but you are told, "that you will all be made;" and I do not expect that you should take my word to the contrary. I desire only that you would trust the understanding God has given you, and not be fooled out of your senses. Will the manufacturer be made, by an entire stop to business? or the tradesman, by being obliged to shut up shop? And yet you all must know, that, in a civil war, no work can be carried on, nor any trade go forward. I hope you are not yet so stupid as to think that people will build houses, buy rich furniture, or make up fine clothes, when we are all together by the ears, and nobody can tell to whose share they will fall at last: and if there be no buyers, you can have no employers. Merchants will not stock themselves with goods when there is no demand for them, to have their shops rifled, and their store-houses broken open and plundered, by one side or the other.

Indeed, my good friends and countrymen, let designing people say what they please, you will all be ruined in the struggle, let it end which way it will; and it well deserves your thoughts, whether it is worth your while to beggar yourselves and families, that the man's

name upon the throne may be James instead of George. You will probably see neither of them while you live, nor be one penny the richer for the one or for the other ; and, if you take my advice, you will accordingly not trouble your heads about them.

You may think it a fine thing, when you get drunk over your ale, to throw up your caps and cry, " Long live King James !" but it would be a wiser thing, to think how you will live yourselves, after you are beggared in his cause. Will he make good your losses ? pay one man for the plundering of his warehouse, and another for the rifling of his shop ? Will he give you money, think ye, to release your own and your wives' clothes which you must pawn for bread, because no work is stirring ? Will he buy new looms and tackle for you, because yours have been burnt and destroyed ? If you fancy so, you are strangely imposed upon indeed. He will have other things to do with his money ; or, if he had any to spare, there will be hungry Frenchmen enough about him to snap it up before it comes to you.

I will not say anything to you about the dangers you must run in the course of a civil war, though they are very dreadful, and more horrid than you can possibly imagine, because I cannot think that there is any need of it. I have shewn you very plainly, that if you should be deluded to take arms, you fight for less than nothing, for the undoing of yourselves and families ; and if this argument will not prevail upon you to be quiet, I can only pray for you, that God will be pleased to restore you to the right use of your understanding.

I am,

Your old and faithful friend,

THE DRAPIER.

MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS

UPON

IRISH AFFAIRS.

The tracts which follow are a bright record of the unceasing zeal with which Swift continued, through successive years, and indeed until the total decay of his mental powers, to watch over the interests of Ireland,—to warn his countrymen of their errors, to laugh them out of their follies, to vindicate their rights against the aggressions of their powerful neighbours ; and to be, in the expressive language of Scripture, the man set for their watchman, to blow the trumpet and warn the people.

MAXIMS CONTROULED IN IRELAND.

THE TRUTH

OF

MAXIMS IN STATE AND GOVERNMENT

EXAMINED,

WITH REFERENCE TO IRELAND.

Written in 1724.

These Maxims are described by Mr Burke, as “ a collection of State Paradoxes, abounding with great sense and penetration, and on a very important subject.” They form a counterpart to the Essay on Public Absurdities in England.

THERE are certain maxims of state, founded upon long observation and experience, drawn from the constant practice of the wisest nations, and from the very principles of government, nor even controuled by any writer upon politics. Yet all these maxims do necessarily presuppose a kingdom, or commonwealth, to have the same natural rights common to the rest of mankind, who have entered into civil society; for if we could conceive a nation where each of the inhabitants had but one eye, one leg, and one hand, it is plain, before you could institute them into a republic, that an allowance must be made for those material defects wherein they differed from

other mortals. Or, imagine a legislature forming a system for the government of bedlam, and, proceeding upon the maxim that man is a sociable animal. should draw them out of their cells, and form them into corporations or general assemblies; the consequence might probably be, that they would fall foul on each other, or burn the house over their own heads.

Of the like nature are innumerable errors committed by crude and short thinkers, who reason upon general topics, without the least allowance for the most important circumstances, which quite alter the nature of the case.

This has been the fate of those small dealers, who are every day publishing their thoughts, either on paper or in their assemblies, for improving the trade of Ireland, and referring us to the practice and example of England, Holland, France, or other nations.

I shall, therefore, examine certain maxims of government, which generally pass for uncontroled in the world, and consider how far they will suit with the present condition of this kingdom.

First, It is affirmed by wise men, that the dearness of things necessary for life, in a fruitful country, is a certain sign of wealth and great commerce; for when such necessaries are dear, it must absolutely follow that money is cheap and plentiful.

But this is manifestly false in Ireland, for the following reason. Some years ago, the species of money here did probably amount to six or seven hundred thousand pounds; and I have good cause to believe, that our remittances then did not much exceed the cash brought in to us. But, by the prodigious discouragements we have since received in every branch of our trade, by the

frequent enforcement and rigorous execution of the navigation-act,—the tyranny of under custom-house officers,—the yearly addition of absentees,—the payments to regiments abroad,—to civil and military officers residing in England,—the unexpected sudden demands of great sums from the treasury,—and some other drains of perhaps as great consequence,—we now see ourselves reduced to a state (since we have no friends) of being pitied by our enemies; at least, if our enemies were of such a kind, as to be capable of any regard towards us except of hatred and contempt.

Forty years are now passed since the Revolution, when the contention of the British Empire was, most unfortunately for us, and altogether against the usual course of such mighty changes in government, decided in the least important nation; but with such ravages and ruin executed on both sides, as to leave the kingdom a desert, which in some sort it still continues. Neither did the long rebellions in 1641, make half such a destruction of houses, plantations, and personal wealth, in both kingdoms, as two years campaigns did in ours, by fighting England's battles.

By slow degrees, as by the gentle treatment we received under two auspicious reigns,* we grew able to live without running in debt. Our absentees were but few: we had great indulgence in trade, and a considerable share in employments of church and state; and while the short leases continued, which were let some years after the war ended, tenants paid their rents with ease and cheerfulness, to the great regret of their landlords,

* Those of Charles II. and James II. in which, for political reasons on the part of the Crown, Ireland was peculiarly favoured.

who had taken up a spirit of opposition that is not easily removed. And although, in these short leases, the rent was gradually to increase after short periods, yet, as soon as the terms elapsed, the land was let to the highest bidder, most commonly without the least effectual clause for building or planting. Yet, by many advantages, which this island then possessed, and has since utterly lost, the rents of land still grew higher upon every lease that expired, till they have arrived at the present exorbitance; when the frog, over-swelling himself, burst at last.

With the price of land of necessity rose that of corn and cattle, and all other commodities that farmers deal in: hence likewise, obviously, the rates of all goods and manufactures among shopkeepers, the wages of servants, and hire of labourers. But although our miseries came on fast, with neither trade nor money left; yet neither will the landlord abate in his rent, nor can the tenant abate in the price of what the rent must be paid with, nor any shopkeeper, tradesman, or labourer live, at lower expense for food and clothing, than he did before.

I have been the larger upon this first head, because the same observations will clear up and strengthen a good deal of what I shall affirm upon the rest.

The second maxim of those who reason upon trade and government, is, to assert that low interest is a certain sign of great plenty of money in a nation, for which, as in many other articles, they produce the examples of Holland and England. But, with relation to Ireland, this maxim is likewise entirely false.

There are two reasons for the lowness of interest in any country. First, that which is usually alleged, the

great plenty of species ; and this is obvious. The second is, want of trade, which seldom falls under common observation, although it be equally true : for, where trade is altogether discouraged, there are few borrowers. In those countries where men can employ a large stock, the young merchant, whose fortune may be four or five hundred pounds, will venture to borrow as much more, and can afford a reasonable interest. Neither is it easy, at this day, to find many of those, whose business reaches to employ even so inconsiderable a sum, except among the importers of wine, who, as they have most part of the present trade in these parts of Ireland in their hands, so they are the most exorbitant, exacting, fraudulent dealers, that ever trafficked in any nation, and are making all possible speed to ruin both themselves and the nation.

From this defect of gentlemen's not knowing how to dispose of their ready money, arises the high purchase of land, which in all other countries is reckoned a sign of wealth. For, the frugal squires, who live below their incomes, have no other way to dispose of their savings but by mortgage or purchase, by which the rates of land must naturally increase ; and if this trade continues long, under the uncertainty of rents, the landed men of ready money will find it more for their advantage to send their cash to England, and place it in the funds ; which I myself am determined to do, the first considerable sum I shall be master of.

It has likewise been a maxim among politicians, "That the great increase of buildings in the metropolis, argues a flourishing state." But this, I confess, has been controuled from the example of London ; when, by the long and annual parliamentary session, such a number

of senators, with their families, friends, adherents, and expectants, draw such prodigious numbers to that city, that the old hospitable custom of lords and gentlemen living in their ancient seats among their tenants, is almost lost in England; is laughed out of doors; inso-much that, in the middle of summer, a legal House of Lords and Commons might be brought in a few hours to London, from their country villas within twelve miles round.

The case in Ireland is yet somewhat worse: for the absentees of great estates, who, if they lived at home, would have many rich retainers in their neighbourhoods, have learned to rack their lands, and shorten their leases, as much as any residing squire; and the few remaining of those latter, having some vain hope of employments for themselves, or their children, and discouraged by the beggarliness and thievery of their own miserable farmers and cottagers, or seduced by the vanity of their wives, on pretence of their children's education (whereof the fruits are so apparent,) together with that most wonderful, and yet more unaccountable zeal, for a seat in their assembly, though at some years' purchase of their whole estates: these, and some other motives, have drawn such concourse to this beggarly city, that the dealers of the several branches of building have found out all the commodious and inviting places for erecting new houses; while fifteen hundred of the old ones, which is a seventh part of the whole city, are said to be left uninhabited, and falling to ruin. Their method is the same with that which was first introduced by Dr Barebone at London, who died a bankrupt. The mason, the bricklayer, the carpenter, the slater, and the glazier, take a lot of ground, club to build one or more

houses, unite their credit, their stock, and their money ; and when their work is finished, sell it to the best advantage they can. But, as it often happens, and more every day, that their fund will not answer half their design, they are forced to undersell it at the first story, and are all reduced to beggary. Insomuch, that I know a certain fanatic brewer, who is reported to have some hundreds of houses in this town, is said to have purchased the greatest part of them at half value from ruined undertakers ; has intelligence of all new houses where the finishing is at a stand, takes advantage of the builder's distress, and, by the advantage of ready money, gets fifty *per cent.* at least for his bargain.

It is another undisputed maxim in government, "That people are the riches of a nation ;" which is so universally granted, that it will be hardly pardonable to bring it into doubt. And I will grant it to be so far true, even in this island, that if we had the African custom, or privilege, of selling our useless bodies for slaves to foreigners, it would be the most useful branch of our trade, by ridding us of a most unsupportable burden, and bringing us money in the stead. But, in our present situation, at least five children in six who are born, lie a dead weight upon us, for want of employment. And a very skilful computer assured me, that above one half of the souls in this kingdom supported themselves by begging and thievery ; two thirds whereof would be able to get their bread in any other country upon earth. Trade is the only incitement to labour ; where that fails, the poorer native must either beg, steal, or starve, or be forced to quit his country. This has made me often wish, for some years past, that instead of discouraging our people from seeking foreign soil, the public would

rather pay for transporting all our unnecessary mortals, whether Papists or Protestants, to America ; as drawbacks are sometimes allowed for exporting commodities, where a nation is overstocked. I confess myself to be touched with very sensible pleasure, when I hear of a mortality in any country parish or village, where the wretches are forced to pay for a filthy cabin, and two ridges of potatoes, treble the worth ; brought up to steal or beg, for want of work ; to whom death would be the best thing to be wished for on account both of themselves and the public.*

Among all taxes imposed by the legislature, those upon luxury are universally allowed to be the most equitable, and beneficial to the subject ; and the commonest reasoner on government might fill a volume with arguments on the subject. Yet here again, by the singular fate of Ireland, this maxim is utterly false ; and the putting of it in practice may have such a pernicious consequence, as, I certainly believe, the thoughts of proposers were not able to reach.

The miseries we suffer by our absentees, are of a far more extensive nature than seems to be commonly understood. I must vindicate myself to the reader so far, as to declare solemnly, that what I shall say of those lords and squires, does not arise from the least regard I have for their understandings, their virtues, or their persons : for, although I have not the honour of the least acquaintance with any one among them, (my ambition not soaring so high) yet I am too good a witness

* Upon this topic Swift has enlarged with bitter sarcasm, in the "Modest Proposal" for converting the children of the poor into an article of food.

of the situation they have been in for thirty years past ; the veneration paid them by the people, the high esteem they are in among the prime nobility and gentry, the particular marks of favour and distinction they receive from the Court ; the weight and consequence of their interest, added to their great zeal and application for preventing any hardships their country might suffer from England, wisely considering that their own fortunes and honours were embarked in the same bottom.

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THE
**BLUNDERS, DEFICIENCIES, DISTRESSES,
 AND MISFORTUNES OF QUILCA.**

PROPOSED TO CONTAIN ONE AND TWENTY VOLUMES IN QUARTO.

Begun April 20, 1724. To be continued Weekly, if due Encouragement be given.

Quilca was a small country seat of Mr Sheridan, by whom it was lent to the Dean as a summer residence. This grotesque account of its deficiencies forms no bad supplement to Swift's account of Ireland. See some ludicrous verses on Quilca.

BUT one lock and a half in the whole house.

The key of the garden door lost.

The empty bottles all uncleanable.

The vessels for drink very few and leaky.

The new house going to ruin before it is finished.

One hinge of the street door broke off, and the people forced to go out and come in at the back-door.

The door of the Dean's bed-chamber full of large chinks.

The beaufet letting in so much wind that it almost blows out the candles.

The Dean's bed threatening every night to fall under him.

The little table loose and broken in the joints.

The passages open over head, by which the cats pass continually into the cellar, and eat the victuals, for which one was tried, condemned, and executed by the sword.

The large table in a very tottering condition.

But one chair in the house fit for sitting on, and that in a very ill state of health.

The kitchen perpetually crowded with savages.

Not a bit of mutton to be had in the country.

Want of beds, and a mutiny thereupon among the servants, until supplied from Kells.

An egregious want of all the most common necessary utensils.

Not a bit of turf in this cold weather ; and Mrs Johnson and the Dean in person, with all their servants, forced to assist at the bog, in gathering up the wet bottoms of old clamps.

The grate in the ladies' bed-chamber broke, and forced to be removed, by which they were compelled to be without fire, the chimney smoking intolerably ; and the Dean's great-coat was employed to stop the wind from coming down the chimney, without which expedient they must have been starved to death.

A messenger sent a mile to borrow an old broken tun-dish.

Bottles stopped with bits of wood and tow, instead of corks.

Not one utensil for a fire, except an old pair of tongs, which travels through the house, and is likewise employed to take the meat out of the pot, for want of a flesh-fork.

Every servant an arrant thief as to victuals and drink,

ad every comer and goer as arrant a thief of everything he or she can lay their hands on.

The spit blunted with poking into bogs for timber, and tears the meat to pieces.

Bellum atque foeminam: or a kitchen war between nurse and a nasty crew of both sexes; she to preserve order and cleanliness, they to destroy both; and they generally are conquerors.

April 28. This morning the great fore-door quite open, dancing backward and forward with all its weight upon the lower hinge, which must have been broken if the Dean had not accidentally come and relieved it.

A great hole in the floor of the ladies' chamber, every hour hazarding a broken leg.

Two damnable iron spikes erect on the Dean's bedstead, by which he is in danger of a broken shin at rising and going to bed.

The ladies' and Dean's servants growing fast into the manners and thieveries of the natives; the ladies themselves very much corrupted; the Dean perpetually storming, and in danger of either losing all his flesh, or sinking into barbarity for the sake of peace.

Mrs Dingley full of cares for herself, and blunders and negligence for her friends. Mrs Johnson sick and helpless. The Dean deaf and fretting; the lady's maid awkward and clumsy; Robert lazy and forgetful; William a pragmatistical, ignorant, and conceited puppy; Robin and nurse the two great and only supports of the family.

Bellum lactæum: or the milky battle, fought between the Dean and the crew of Quilca; the latter insisting on their privilege of not milking till eleven in the forenoon; whereas Mrs Johnson wanted milk at eight for

her health. In this battle the Dean got the victory ; but the crew of Quilca begin to rebel again ; for it is this day almost ten o'clock, and Mrs Johnson has not got her milk.

A proverb on the laziness and lodgings of the servants :
“ The worse their sty—the longer they lie.”

Two great holes in the wall of the ladies' bed-chamber, just at the back of the bed, and one of them directly behind Mrs Johnson's pillow, either of which would blow out a candle in the calmest day.

[Faint, mirrored text bleed-through from the reverse side of the page, including the sentence: "I am sorry that I have not been able to do more for you..."]

A SHORT VIEW

OF

THE STATE OF IRELAND. 1727.

I AM assured, that it has for some time been practised as a method of making men's court, when they are asked about the rate of lands, the abilities of the tenants, the state of trade and manufacture in this kingdom, and how their rents are paid; to answer, that in their neighbourhood all things are in a flourishing condition, the rent and purchase of land every day increasing. And if a gentleman happen to be a little more sincere in his representation, beside being looked on as not well-affect-ed, he is sure to have a dozen contradictors at his elbow. I think it is no manner of secret, why these questions are so cordially asked, or so obligingly answered.

But since, with regard to the affairs of this kingdom, I have been using all endeavours to subdue my indignation; to which indeed I am not provoked by any personal interest, not being the owner of one spot of ground in the whole island; I shall only enumerate, by rules generally known, and never contradicted, what are the true causes of any country's flourishing and growing rich; and then examine what effects arise from those causes in the kingdom of Ireland.

The first cause of a kingdom's thriving is, the fruitfulness of the soil to produce the necessaries and conveniences of life; not only sufficient for the inhabitants, but for exportation into other countries.

The second is, the industry of the people, in working up all their native commodities to the last degree of manufacture.

The third is, the conveniency of safe ports and havens, to carry out their own goods as much manufactured, and bring in those of others as little manufactured, as the nature of mutual commerce will allow.

The fourth is, that the natives should, as much as possible, export and import their goods in vessels of their own timber, made in their own country.

The fifth is, the privilege of a free trade in all foreign countries which will permit them, except those who are in war with their own prince or state.

The sixth is, by being governed only by laws made with their own consent; for otherwise they are not a free people. And therefore all appeals for justice, or applications for favour or preferment, to another country, are so many grievous impoverishments.

The seventh is, by improvement of land, encouragement of agriculture, and thereby increasing the number of their people; without which any country, however blessed by nature, must continue poor.

The eighth is, the residence of the prince, or chief administrator of the civil power.

The ninth is, the concourse of foreigners, for education, curiosity, or pleasure, or as to a general mart of trade.

The tenth is, by disposing all offices of honour, profit, or trust, only to the natives; or at least with very few

exceptions, where strangers have long inhabited the country, and are supposed to understand and regard the interests of it as their own.

The eleventh is, when the rents of land and profits of employment are spent in the country which produced them, and not in another; the former of which will certainly happen where the love of our native country prevails.

The twelfth is, by the public revenues being all spent and employed at home, except on the occasions of a foreign war.

The thirteenth is, where the people are not obliged, unless they find it for their own interest or conveniency, to receive any moneys, except of their own coinage by a public mint, after the manner of all civilized nations.

The fourteenth is, a disposition of the people of a country to wear their own manufactures, and import as few incitements to luxury, either in clothes, furniture, food, or drink, as they possibly can live conveniently without.

There are many other causes of a nation's thriving, which I at present cannot recollect; but without advantage from at least some of these, after turning my thoughts a long time, I am not able to discover whence our wealth proceeds, and therefore would gladly be better informed. In the mean time, I will here examine what share falls to Ireland of these causes, or of the effects and consequences.

It is not my intention to complain, but barely to relate facts; and the matter is not of small importance. For it is allowed, that a man who lives in a solitary house, far from help, is not wise in endeavouring to acquire in the neighbourhood the reputation of being rich; because

those who come for gold, will go off with pewter and brass, rather than return empty: and in the common practice of the world, those who possess most wealth, make the least parade; which they leave to others, who have nothing else to bear them out in shewing their faces on the Exchange.

As to the first cause of a nation's riches, being the fertility of the soil, as well as temperature of the climate, we have no reason to complain; for, although the quantity of unprofitable land in this kingdom, reckoning bog and rock and barren mountain, be double in proportion to what it is in England; yet the native productions, which both kingdoms deal in, are very near on an equality in point of goodness, and might, with the same encouragement, be as well manufactured. I except mines and minerals; in some of which, however, we are only defective in point of skill and industry.

In the second, which is the industry of the people, our misfortune is not altogether owing to our own fault, but to a million of discouragements.

The conveniency of ports and havens, which nature has bestowed so liberally on this kingdom, is of no more use to us than a beautiful prospect to a man shut up in a dungeon.

As to shipping of its own, Ireland is so utterly unprovided, that of all the excellent timber cut down within these fifty or sixty years, it can hardly be said that the nation has received the benefit of one valuable house to dwell in, or one ship to trade with.

Ireland is the only kingdom I ever heard or read of, either in ancient or modern story, which was denied the liberty of exporting their native commodities and manufactures wherever they pleased, except to countries at

war with their own prince or state : yet this privilege, by the superiority of mere power, is refused us in the most momentous parts of commerce ; besides an act of navigation, to which we never consented, pinned down upon us, and rigorously executed ; and a thousand other unexampled circumstances, as grievous as they are invidious to mention. To go on to the rest.

It is too well known, that we are forced to obey some laws we never consented to ; which is a condition I must not call by its true uncontroverted name, for fear of Lord Chief Justice Whitshed's ghost, with his *Libertas et natale solum* written for a motto on his coach, as it stood at the door of the court, while he was perjuring himself to betray both. Thus we are in the condition of patients, who have physic sent them by doctors at a distance, strangers to their constitution and the nature of their disease ; and thus we are forced to pay five hundred per cent. to decide our properties :* in all which we have likewise the honour to be distinguished from the whole race of mankind.

As to the improvement of land, those few who attempt that or planting, through covetousness, or want of skill, generally leave things worse than they were ; neither succeeding in trees nor hedges ; and, by running into the fancy of grazing, after the manner of the Scythians, are every day depopulating the country.

We are so far from having a king to reside among us, that even the viceroy is generally absent four-fifths of his time in the government.

No strangers from other countries make this a part of their travels ; where they can expect to see nothing but scenes of misery and desolation.

* The Appeal to the House of Peers.

Those who have the misfortune to be born here, have the least title to any considerable employment ; to which they are seldom preferred, but upon a political consideration.

One third part of the rents of Ireland is spent in England ; which, with the profit of employments, pensions, appeals, journeys of pleasure or health, education at the inns of court and both universities, remittances at pleasure, the pay of all superior officers in the army, and other incidents, will amount to a full half of the income of the whole kingdom, all clear profit to England.

We are denied the liberty of coining gold, silver, or even copper. In the Isle of Man they coin their own silver ; every petty prince, vassal to the Emperor, can coin what money he pleases. And in this, as in most of the articles already mentioned, we are an exception to all other states or monarchies that were ever known in the world.

As to the last, or fourteenth article, we take special care to act diametrically contrary to it in the whole course of our lives. Both sexes, but especially the women, despise and abhor to wear any of their own manufactures, even those which are better made than in other countries ; particularly a sort of silk plaid, through which the workmen are forced to run a kind of gold thread, that it may pass for Indian. Even ale and potatoes are imported from England, as well as corn ; and our foreign trade is little more than importation of French wine, for which I am told we pay ready money.

Now, if all this be true, (upon which I could easily enlarge,) I should be glad to know, by what secret method it is that we grow a rich and flourishing people, without liberty, trade, manufactures, inhabitants, money,

or the privilege of coining ; without industry, labour, or improvement of land ; and with more than half the rent and profits of the whole kingdom annually exported, for which we receive not a single farthing : and to make up all this, nothing worth mentioning, except the linen of the North, a trade, casual, corrupted, and at mercy ; and some butter from Cork. If we do flourish, it must be against every law of nature and reason ; like the thorn at Glastonbury, that blossoms in the midst of winter.

Let the worthy commissioners who come from England ride round the kingdom, and observe the face of nature, or the face of the natives ; the improvement of the land ; the thriving numerous plantations ; the noble woods ; the abundance and vicinity of country seats ; the commodious farms, houses, and barns ; the towns and villages, where everybody is busy, and thriving with all kind of manufactures ; the shops full of goods wrought to perfection, and filled with customers ; the comfortable diet, and dress, and dwellings of the people ; the vast number of ships in our harbours and docks, and shipwrights in our sea-port towns ; the roads crowded with carriers laden with rich manufactures ; the perpetual concourse to and fro of pompous equipages.

With what envy and admiration would those gentlemen return from so delightful a progress ! what glorious reports would they make, when they went back to England !

But my heart is too heavy to continue this irony longer ; for it is manifest, that whatever stranger took such a journey, would be apt to think himself travelling in Lapland or Ysland, rather than in a country so favoured by nature as ours, both in fruitfulness of soil and temperature of climate. The miserable dress, and diet,

and dwelling of the people ; the general desolation in most parts of the kingdom ; the old seats of the nobility and gentry all in ruins, and no new ones in their stead ; the families of farmers, who pay great rents, living in filth and nastiness upon butter-milk and potatoes, without a shoe or stocking to their feet, or a house so convenient as an English hog-sty to receive them. These indeed may be comfortable sights to an English spectator, who comes for a short time, only to learn the language, and returns back to his own country, whither he finds all his wealth transmitted.

Nostra miseria magna est.

There is not one argument used to prove the riches of Ireland, which is not a logical demonstration of its poverty. The rise of our rents is squeezed out of the very blood, and vitals, and clothes, and dwellings of the tenants, who live worse than English beggars. The lowness of interest, in all other countries a sign of wealth, is in us a proof of misery; there being no trade to employ any borrower. Hence alone comes the dearness of land, since the savers have no other way to lay out their money: hence the dearness of necessaries of life; because the tenants cannot afford to pay such extravagant rates for land, (which they must take, or go a-begging,) without raising the price of cattle and of corn, although themselves should live upon chaff. Hence our increase of building in this city; because workmen have nothing to do but to employ one another, and one half of them are infallibly undone. Hence the daily increase of bankers, who may be a necessary evil in a trading country, but so ruinous in ours; who, for their private advantage, have sent away all our silver, and one third of our gold; so that within

three years past the running cash of the nation, which was about five hundred thousand pounds, is now less than two, and must daily diminish, unless we have liberty to coin, as well as that important kingdom the Isle of Man, and the meanest principality in the German empire, as I before observed.

I have sometimes thought, that this paradox of the kingdom's growing rich is chiefly owing to those worthy gentlemen the BANKERS; who, except some custom-house officers, birds of passage, oppressive thrifty squires, and a few others who shall be nameless, are the only thriving people among us: and I have often wished that a law were enacted to hang up half a dozen bankers every year, and thereby interpose at least some short delay to the farther ruin of Ireland.

Ye are idle! ye are idle! answered Pharaoh to the Israelites, when they complained to his majesty that they were forced to make bricks without straw.

England enjoys every one of those advantages for enriching a nation which I have above enumerated; and, into the bargain, a good million returned to them every year without labour or hazard, or one farthing value received on our side: but how long we shall be able to continue the payment, I am not under the least concern. One thing I know, that, when the hen is starved to death, there will be no more golden eggs.

I think it a little unhospitable, and others may call it a subtile piece of malice, that because there may be a dozen families in this town able to entertain their English friends in a generous manner at their tables, their guests upon their return to England shall report that we wallow in riches and luxury.

Yet I confess I have known an hospital, where all the

household officers grew rich ; while the poor, for whose sake it was built, were almost starving for want of food and raiment.

To conclude : If Ireland be a rich and flourishing kingdom, its wealth and prosperity must be owing to certain causes, that are yet concealed from the whole race of mankind ; and the effects are equally invisible. We need not wonder at strangers, when they deliver such paradoxes ; but a native and inhabitant of this kingdom, who gives the same verdict, must be either ignorant to stupidity, or a man-pleaser, at the expense of all honour, conscience, and truth.

THE
STORY
OF THE
INJURED LADY;

WRITTEN BY HERSELF,
IN A LETTER TO HER FRIEND;
WITH HIS ANSWER.

SIR,

BEING ruined by the inconstancy and unkindness of a lover, I hope a true and plain relation of my misfortunes may be of use and warning to credulous maids, never to put too much trust in deceitful men.

A gentleman* in the neighbourhood had two mistresses, another and myself; † and he pretended honourable love to us both. Our three houses stood pretty near one another; his was parted from mine by a river, ‡ and from my rival's by an old broken wall. || But before I enter into the particulars of this gentleman's hard usage of me, I will give a very just and impartial character of my rival and myself.

As to her person, she is tall and lean, and very ill shaped; she has bad features, and a worse complexion; she has a stinking breath, and twenty ill smells about her besides; which are yet more insufferable by her na-

* England.

‡ The Irish Sea.

† Scotland and Ireland.

|| The Picts wall.

tural sluttishness: for she is always lousy, and never without the itch. As to her other qualities, she has no reputation either for virtue, honesty, truth, or manners: and it is no wonder, considering what her education has been. Scolding and cursing are her common conversation. To sum up all; she is poor and beggarly, and gets a sorry maintenance by pilfering wherever she comes. As for this gentleman, who is now so fond of her, she still bears him an invincible hatred; reviles him to his face, and rails at him in all companies. Her house is frequented by a company of rogues and thieves, and pick-pockets, whom she encourages to rob his hen-roosts, steal his corn and cattle, and do him all manner of mischief.* She has been known to come at the head of these rascals, and beat her lover until he was sore from head to foot, and then force him to pay for the trouble she was at. Once, attended with a crew of raggamuffins, she broke into his house, turned all things topsy-turvy, and then set it on fire. At the same time she told so many lies among his servants, that it set them all by the ears, and his poor steward † was knocked on the head; for which I think, and so does all the country, that she ought to be answerable. To conclude her character: she is of a different religion, being a Presbyterian of the most rank and violent kind, and consequently having an inveterate hatred to the church; yet I am sure, I have been always told, that in marriage there ought to be a union of minds as well as of persons.

I will now give my own character, and shall do it in few words, and with modesty and truth.

I was reckoned to be as handsome as any in our neigh-

* The Scottish Highlanders.

† Charles I.

bourhood, until I became pale and thin with grief and ill usage. I am still fair enough, and have, I think, no very ill features about me. They that see me now will hardly allow me ever to have had any great share of beauty; for, besides being so much altered, I go always mobbed, and in an undress, as well out of neglect, as indeed for want of clothes to appear in. I might add to all this, that I was born to a good estate, although it now turns to little account under the oppressions I endure, and has been the true cause of all my misfortunes.

Some years ago, this gentleman, taking a fancy either to my person or fortune, made his addresses to me: which, being then young and foolish, I too readily admitted; he seemed to use me with so much tenderness, and his conversation was so very engaging, that all my constancy and virtue were soon overcome; and, to dwell no longer upon a theme that causes such bitter reflections, I must confess, with shame, that I was undone by the common arts practised upon all easy credulous virgins, half by force, and half by consent, after solemn vows and protestations of marriage. When he had once got possession, he soon began to play the usual part of a too fortunate lover, affecting on all occasions to shew his authority, and to act like a conqueror. First, he found fault with the government of my family, which, I grant, was none of the best, consisting of ignorant, illiterate creatures: for at that time I knew but little of the world. In compliance to him, therefore, I agreed to fall into his ways and methods of living; I consented that his steward should govern my house, and have liberty to employ an under steward,* who should receive

* The Lord-lieutenant.

his directions. My lover proceeded farther, turned away several old servants and tenants, and supplying me with others from his own house. These grew so domineering and unreasonable, that there was no quiet, and I heard of nothing but perpetual quarrels, which, although I could not possibly help, yet my lover laid all the blame and punishment upon me; and, upon every falling out, still turned away more of my people, and supplied me in their stead with a number of fellows and dependents of his own, whom he had no other way to provide for. Overcome by love, and to avoid noise and contention, I yielded to all his usurpations; and finding it in vain to resist, I thought it my best policy to make my court to my new servants, and draw them to my interests; I fed them from my own table with the best I had, put my new tenants on the choice parts of my land, and treated them all so kindly, that they began to love me as well as their master. In process of time, all my old servants were gone, and I had not a creature about me, nor above one or two tenants, but what were of his choosing; yet I had the good luck, by gentle usage, to bring over the greatest part of them to my side. When my lover observed this, he began to alter his language; and to those who inquired about me, he would answer, that I was an old dependent upon his family, whom he had placed on some concerns of his own; and he began to use me accordingly, neglecting, by degrees, all common civility in his behaviour. I shall never forget the speech he made me one morning, which he delivered with all the gravity in the world. He put me in mind of the vast obligations I lay under to him in sending me so many of his people for my own good, and to teach me manners: that it had cost him ten times

more than I was worth to maintain me ; that it had been much better for him, if I had been damned, or burnt, or sunk to the bottom of the sea : that it was reasonable I should strain myself, as far as I was able, to reimburse him some of his charges : that from henceforward he expected his word should be a law to me in all things ; that I must maintain a parish watch against thieves and robbers, and give salaries to an overseer, a constable, and others, all of his own choosing, whom he would send from time to time to be spies upon me ; that to enable me the better in supporting these expenses, my tenants should be obliged to carry all their goods cross the river to his own town-market, and pay toll on both sides, and then sell them at half value. But because we were a nasty sort of people, and that he could not endure to touch anything we had a hand in, and, likewise, because he wanted work to employ his own folks, therefore we must send all our goods to his market just in their naturals ; the milk immediately from the cow, without making into cheese or butter ; the corn in the ear ; the grass as it was mowed ; the wool as it comes from the sheep's back ; and bring the fruit upon the branch, that he might not be obliged to eat it after our filthy hands : that if a tenant carried but a piece of bread and cheese to eat by the way, or an inch of worsted to mend his stockings, he should forfeit his whole parcel : and because a company of rogues usually plied on the river between us, who often robbed my tenants of their goods and boats, he ordered a waterman of his to guard them, whose manner was to be out of the way till the poor wretches were plundered, then to overtake the thieves, and seize all as lawful prize to his master and himself. It would be endless to repeat

a hundred other hardships he has put upon me ; but it is a general rule, that whenever he imagines the smallest advantage will redound to one of his footboys by any new oppression of me and my whole family and estate, he never disputeth it a moment. All this has rendered me so very insignificant and contemptible at home, that some servants, to whom I pay the greatest wages, and many tenants, who have the most beneficial leases, are gone over to live with him, yet I am bound to continue their wages, and pay their rents ; by which means one-third part of my whole income is spent on his estate, and above another third by his tolls and markets : and my poor tenants are so sunk and impoverished, that, instead of maintaining me suitably to my quality, they can hardly find me clothes to keep me warm, or provide the common necessaries of life for themselves.

Matters being in this posture between me and my lover, I received intelligence that he had been for some time making very pressing overtures of marriage to my rival, until there happened to be some misunderstandings between them. She gave him ill words, and threatened to break off all commerce with him. He, on the other side, having either acquired courage by his triumphs over me, or supposing her as tame a fool as I, thought at first to carry it with a high hand, but hearing, at the same time, that she had thoughts of making some private proposals to join with me against him, and doubting, with very good reason, that I would readily accept them, he seemed very much disconcerted.* This, I thought, was a proper occasion to shew

* The spirit of opposition and enmity to England, declared by the Scottish Act of Security, according to Swift's view of the relations between the countries, left no alternative but an Union or a war.

some great example of generosity and love; and so, without farther consideration, I sent him word, that hearing there was likely to be a quarrel between him and my rival, notwithstanding all that had passed, and without binding him to any conditions in my own favour, I would stand by him against her and all the world, while I had a penny in my purse, or a petticoat to pawn. This message was subscribed by all my chief tenants, and proved so powerful, that my rival immediately grew more tractable upon it. The result of which was, that there is now a treaty of marriage* concluded between them, the wedding clothes are bought, and nothing remains but to perform the ceremony, which is put off for some days, because they design it to be a public wedding. And to reward my love, constancy, and generosity, he has bestowed on me the office of being sempstress to his grooms and footmen, which I am forced to accept or starve. † Yet, in the midst of this my situation, I cannot but have some pity for this deluded man, to cast himself away on an infamous creature, who, whatever she pretends, I can prove would, at this very minute, rather be a whore to a certain great man, ‡ that shall be nameless, if she might have her will. For my part, I think, and so does all the country too, that the man is possessed; at least none of us are able to imagine what he can possibly see in her, unless she has bewitched him, or given him some powder.

I am sure I never sought this alliance, and you can

* Treaty of Union.

† The linen trade of Ireland.

‡ Alluding to the Jacobitical spirit and hatred of the Union predominant in Scotland.

bear me witness that I might have had other matches ; nay if I were lightly disposed, I could still perhaps have offers, that some, who hold their heads higher, would be glad to accept. But alas ! I never had any such wicked thought ; all I now desire is, only to enjoy a little quiet, to be free from the persecutions of this unreasonable man, and that he will let me manage my own little fortune to the best advantage ; for which I will undertake to pay him a considerable pension every year, much more considerable than what he now gets by his oppressions ; for he must needs find himself a loser at last, when he has drained me and my tenants so dry, that we shall not have a penny for him or ourselves. There is one imposition of his I had almost forgot, which I think unsufferable, and will appeal to you, or any reasonable person, whether it be so or not. I told you before, that by an old compact we agreed to have the same steward ; at which time I consented likewise to regulate my family and estate by the same method with him, which he then shewed me written down in form, and I approved of.* Now, the turn he thinks fit to give this compact of ours is very extraordinary ; for he pretends, that whatever orders he shall think fit to prescribe for the future in his family, he may, if he will, compel mine to observe them without asking my advice, or hearing my reasons. So that I must not make a lease without his consent, or give any directions for the well-governing of my family, but what he countermands whenever he pleases. This leaves me at such confusion and uncertainty, that my

* Alluding to the 33d Henry VIII. providing that the King and his successors should be kings imperial of both kingdoms, on which the enemies of Irish independence founded their arguments against it.

servants know not when to obey me; and my tenants, although many of them be very well inclined, seem quite at a loss.

But I am too tedious upon this melancholy subject, which however I hope you will forgive, since the happiness of my whole life depends upon it. I desire you will think a while, and give your best advice what measures I shall take with prudence, justice, courage, and honour, to protect my liberty and fortune against the hardships and severities I lie under from that unkind, inconstant man.

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1711-1712

THE

ANSWER

TO THE

INJURED LADY.

MADAM,

I HAVE received your ladyship's letter, and carefully considered every part of it, and shall give you my opinion how you ought to proceed for your own security. But first I must beg leave to tell your ladyship, that you were guilty of an unpardonable weakness the other day, in making that offer to your lover of standing by him in any quarrel he might have with your rival. You know very well, that she began to apprehend he had designs of using her as he had done you; and common prudence might have directed you rather to have entered into some measures with her for joining against him, until he might at least be brought to some reasonable terms: but your invincible hatred to that lady has carried your resentments so high, as to be the cause of your ruin; yet if you please to consider, this aversion of yours began a good while before she became your rival, and was taken up by you and your family in a

sort of compliment to your lover, who formerly had a great abhorrence of her. It is true, since that time you have suffered very much by her encroachments upon your estate,* but she never pretended to govern and direct you ; and now you have drawn a new enemy upon yourself ; for I think you may count upon all the ill offices she can possibly do you, by her credit with her husband ; whereas, if, instead of openly declaring against her, without any provocation, you had but sat still awhile, and said nothing, that gentleman would have lessened his severity to you out of perfect fear. This weakness of yours you call generosity ; but I doubt there was more in the matter : in short, madam, I have good reasons to think you were betrayed to it by the pernicious counsel of some about you ; for, to my certain knowledge, several of your tenants and servants, to whom you have been very kind, are as arrant rascals as any in the country. I cannot but observe what a mighty difference there is, in one particular, between your ladyship and your rival. Having yielded up your person, you thought nothing else worth defending, and therefore you will not now insist upon those very conditions, for which you yielded at first. But your ladyship cannot be ignorant, that some years since your rival did the same thing, and upon no conditions at all ; nay, this gentleman kept her as a miss, and yet made her pay for her diet and lodging.† But, it being at a time when he had no steward, and his family out of order, she stole away, and has now got the trick very well known among the women of the town, to grant a man the favour over night, and the next

* Disturbances excited by the Scottish colonists in Ulster.

† The subjugation of Scotland by Cromwell.

day have the impudence to deny it to his face. But it is too late to reproach you with any former oversights, which cannot now be rectified. I know the matters of fact, as you relate them, are true, and fairly represented. My advice, therefore, is this : get your tenants together as soon as you conveniently can, and make them agree to the following resolutions.

First, That your family and tenants have no dependence upon the said gentleman, farther than by the old agreement, which obliges you to have the same steward, and to regulate your household by such methods as you should both agree to.

Secondly, That you will not carry your goods to the market of his town, unless you please, nor be hindered from carrying them anywhere else.

Thirdly, That the servants you pay wages to shall live at home, or forfeit their places.

Fourthly, That whatever lease you make to a tenant, it shall not be in his power to break it.

If he will agree to these articles, I advise you to contribute as largely as you can to all charges of parish and county.

I can assure you, several of that gentleman's ablest tenants and servants are against his severe usage of you, and would be glad of an occasion to convince the rest of their error, if you will not be wanting to yourself.

If the gentleman refuses these just and reasonable offers, pray let me know it, and perhaps I may think of something else that will be more effectual.

I am,

Madam,

Your ladyship's, etc.

OBSERVATIONS,

OCCASIONED BY READING A PAPER ENTITLED, "THE CASE OF
THE WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES OF DUBLIN," &c.

THE paper called "The Case of the Woollen Manufactures," &c. is very well drawn up. The reasonings of the author are just, the facts true, and the consequences natural. But his censure of those seven vile citizens, who import such a quantity of silk stuffs and woollen cloth from England, is a hundred times gentler than enemies to their country deserve; because I think no punishment in this world can be great enough for them, without immediate repentance and amendment. But, after all, the writer of that paper has very lightly touched one point of the greatest importance, and very poorly answered the main objection, that the clothiers are defective both in the quality and quantity of their goods.

For my own part, when I consider the several societies of handicraftsmen in all kinds, as well as shopkeepers, in this city, after eighteen years' experience of their dealings, I am at a loss to know in which of these societies the most or least honesty is to be found. For instance, when any trade comes first into my head, upon examination I determine it exceeds all others in fraud. But after I have considered them all round, as far as my knowledge or experience reaches, I am at a loss to de-

termine, and to save trouble I put them all upon a par. This I chiefly apply to those societies of men who get their livelihood by the labour of their hands. For, as to shopkeepers, I cannot deny that I have found some few honest men among them, taking the word honest in the largest and most charitable sense. But as to handicraftsmen, although I shall endeavour to believe it possible to find a fair dealer among their class, yet I confess it has never been once my good fortune to employ one single workman, who did not cheat me at all times to the utmost of his power in the materials, the work, and the price. One universal maxim I have constantly observed among them, that they would rather get a shilling by cheating you, than twenty in the honest way of dealing, although they were sure to lose your custom, as well as that of others, whom you might probably recommend to them.

This, I must own, is the natural consequence of poverty and oppression. These wretched people catch at anything to save them a minute longer from drowning. Thus Ireland is the poorest of all civilized countries in Europe, with every natural advantage to make it one of the richest.

As to the grand objection, which this writer slubbers over in so careless a manner, because indeed it was impossible to find a satisfactory answer, I mean the knavery of our woollen manufacturers in general, I shall relate some facts, which I had more opportunities to observe than usually fall in the way of men who are not of the trade. For some years, the masters and wardens, with many of their principal workmen and shopkeepers, came often to the Deanery to relate their grievances, and to desire my advice as well as my assistance. What

reasons might move them to this proceeding, I leave to public conjecture. The truth is, that the woollen manufacture of this kingdom sat always nearest my heart. But the greatest difficulty lay in these perpetual differences between the shopkeepers and workmen they employed. Ten or a dozen of these latter often came to the Deanery with their complaints, which I often repeated to the shopkeepers. As, that they brought their prices too low for a poor weaver to get his bread by ; and instead of ready money for their labour on Saturdays, they gave them only such a quantity of cloth or stuff, at the highest rate, which the poor men were often forced to sell one-third below the rate, to supply their urgent necessities. On the other side, the shopkeepers complained of idleness, and want of skill, or care, or honesty, in their workmen ; and probably their accusations on both sides were just.

Whenever the weavers, in a body, came to me for advice, I gave it freely, that they should contrive some way to bring their goods into reputation ; and give up that abominable principle of endeavouring to thrive by imposing bad ware at high prices on their customers, whereby no shopkeeper can reasonably expect to thrive. For, besides the dread of God's anger, (which is a motive of small force among them,) they may be sure that no buyer of common sense will return to the same shop where he was once or twice defrauded. That gentlemen and ladies, when they found nothing but deceit in the sale of Irish cloths and stuffs, would act as they ought to do, both in prudence and resentment, in going to those very bad citizens the writer mentions, and purchase English goods.

I went farther, and proposed that ten or a dozen of

the most substantial woollen-drapers should join in publishing an advertisement, signed with their names to the following purpose :—That for the better encouragement of all gentlemen, &c. the persons undernamed did bind themselves mutually to sell their several cloths and stuffs, (naming each kind) at the lowest rate, right merchantable goods, of such a breadth, which they would warrant to be good according to the several prices ; and that if a child of ten years old were sent with money, and directions what cloth or stuff to buy, he should not be wronged in any one article. And that whoever should think himself ill-used in any of the said shops, he should have his money again from the seller, or, upon his refusal, from the rest of the said subscribers, who, if they found the buyer discontented with the cloth or stuff, should be obliged to refund the money ; and if the seller refused to repay them, and take his goods again, should publicly advertise that they would answer for none of his goods any more. This would be to establish credit, upon which all trade depends.

I proposed this scheme several times to the corporation of weavers, as well as to the manufacturers, when they came to apply for my advice at the Deanery-house. I likewise went to the shops of several woollen-drapers upon the same errand, but always in vain ; for they perpetually gave me the deaf ear, and avoided entering into discourse upon that proposal : I suppose, because they thought it was in vain, and that the spirit of fraud had gotten too deep and universal a possession to be driven out by any arguments from interest, reason, or conscience.

A LETTER
TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN,*
CONCERNING THE WEAVERS.

MY LORD,

THE corporation of weavers in the woollen manufacture, who have so often attended your grace, and called upon me with their schemes and proposals, were with me on Thursday last ; when he who spoke for the rest, and in the name of his absent brethren, said, “ It was the opinion of the whole body, that if somewhat was written at this time, by an able hand, to persuade the people of this kingdom to wear their own woollen manufactures, it might be of good use to the nation in general, and preserve many hundreds of their trade from starving.” To which I answered, “ That it was hard for any man of common spirit to turn his thoughts to such speculations, without discovering a resentment, which people are too delicate to bear.” For I will not deny to your grace, that I cannot reflect on the singular condition of this country, different from all others upon the face of the earth, without some emotion ; and without often ex-

* Dr William King, the correspondent and friend of our author. That prelate’s attachment to the cause which Swift advocated so warmly, is alluded to in the proposal for the Use of Irish Manufactures.

aming, as I pass the streets, whether those animals which come in my way, with two legs and human faces, clad and erect, be of the same species with what I have seen very like them in England as to the outward shape, but differing in their notions, natures, and intellectuals, more than any two kinds of brutes in the forest ; which any man of common prudence would immediately discover, by persuading them to define what they meant by law, liberty, property, courage, reason, loyalty, or religion.

One thing, my lord, I am very confident of ; that if God Almighty, for our sins, would most justly send us a pestilence, whoever should dare to discover his grief in public for such a visitation, would certainly be censured for disaffection to the government ; for I solemnly profess that I do not know one calamity we have undergone these many years, which any man, whose opinions were not in fashion, dared to lament, without being openly charged with that imputation. And this is the harder, because although a mother, when she has corrected her child, may sometimes force it to kiss the rod, yet she will never give that power to the footboy or the scullion.

My lord, there are two things for the people of this kingdom to consider ; first, their present evil condition ; and secondly, what can be done in some degree to remedy it.

I shall not enter into a particular description of our present misery ; it has been already done in several papers, and very fully in one entitled, “ A short View of the State of Ireland.” It will be enough to mention the entire want of trade, the navigation-act executed with the utmost rigour, the remission of a million every

year to England, the ruinous importation of foreign luxury and vanity, the oppression of landlords, and discouragement of agriculture.

Now all these evils are without the possibility of a cure, except that of importations ; and to fence against ruinous folly, will be always in our power, in spite of the discouragements, mortifications, contempt, hatred, and opposition, we labour under ; but our trade will never mend, the navigation-act never be softened, our absentees never return, our endless foreign payments never be lessened, our own landlords never be less exacting.

All other schemes for preserving this kingdom from utter ruin, are idle and visionary ; consequently drawn from wrong reasoning, and from general topics, which, from the same causes that they may be true in all nations, are certainly false in ours ; as I have told the public often enough, but with as little effect as what I shall say at present is likely to produce.

I am weary of so many abortive projects for the advancement of trade ; of so many crude proposals, in letters sent me from unknown hands ; of so many contradictory speculations, about raising or sinking the value of gold and silver : I am not in the least sorry to hear of the great numbers going to America, although very much for the causes that drive them from us, since the uncontrouled maxim, " That people are the riches of a nation," is no maxim here under our circumstances. We have neither manufactures to employ them about, nor food to support them.

If a private gentleman's income be sunk irretrievably for ever, from a hundred pounds to fifty, and he has no other method to supply the deficiency ; I desire to know, my lord, whether such a person has any other course to

take, than to sink half his expenses in every article of economy, to save himself from ruin and a gaol. Is not this more than doubly the case of Ireland, where the want of money, the irretrievable ruin of trade, with the other evils above mentioned, and many more too well known and felt, and too numerous or invidious to be related, have been gradually sinking us, for above a dozen years past, to a degree, that we are at least by two thirds in a worse condition than was ever known since the Revolution? Therefore, instead of dreams and projects for the advancing of trade, we have nothing left but to find out some expedient, whereby we may reduce our expenses to our incomes.

Yet this procedure, allowed so necessary in all private families, and in its own nature so easy to be put in practice, may meet with strong opposition by the cowardly slavish indulgence of the men, to the intolerable pride, arrogance, vanity, and luxury of the women; who, strictly adhering to the rules of modern education, seem to employ their whole stock of invention in contriving new arts of profusion, faster than the most parsimonious husband can afford: and, to compass this work the more effectually, their universal maxim is, to despise and detest everything of the growth of their own country, and most to value whatever comes from the very remotest parts of the globe. And I am convinced, that if the virtuosi could once find out a world in the moon, with a passage to it, our women would wear nothing but what directly came from thence.

The prime-cost of wine yearly imported to Ireland is valued at thirty thousand pounds; and the tea (including coffee and chocolate) at five times that sum. The lace, silks, calicoes, and all other unnecessary ornaments

for women, including English cloths and stuffs, added to the former articles, make up (to compute grossly) about four hundred thousand pounds.

Now if we should allow the thirty thousand pounds, wherein the women have their share, and which is all we have to comfort us, and deduct seventy thousand pounds more for over-reaching, there would still remain three hundred thousand pounds, annually spent, for unwholesome drugs and unnecessary finery; which prodigious sum would be wholly saved, and many thousands of our miserable shopkeepers and manufacturers comfortably supported.

Let speculative people busy their brains as much as they please, there is no other way to prevent this kingdom from sinking for ever, than by utterly renouncing all foreign dress and luxury.

It is absolutely so in fact, that every husband of any fortune in the kingdom, is nourishing a poisonous, devouring serpent in his bosom, with all the mischief, but with none of its wisdom.

If all the women were clad with the growth of their own country, they might still vie with each other in the course of foppery; and still have room left to vie with each other and equally shew their wit and judgment, in deciding upon the variety of Irish stuffs. And if they could be contented with their native wholesome slops for breakfast, we should hear no more of the spleen, hysterics, colics, palpitations, and asthmas. They might still be allowed to ruin each other and their husbands at play, because the money lost would circulate among ourselves.

My lord, I freely own it a wild imagination, that any words will cure the sottishness of men, or the vanity of

women ; but the kingdom is in a fair way of producing the most effectual remedy, when there will not be money left for the common course of buying and selling the very necessaries of life in our markets, unless we absolutely change the whole method of our proceedings.

The corporation of weavers in woollen and silk, who have so frequently offered proposals both to your grace and to me, are the hottest and coldest generation of men that I have known. About a month ago, they attended your grace, when I had the honour to be with you ; and designed me the same favour. They desired you would recommend to your clergy to wear gowns of Irish stuffs, which might probably spread the example among all their brethren in the kingdom ; and perhaps among the lawyers and gentlemen of the university, and among the citizens of those corporations who appear in gowns on solemn occasions. I then mentioned a kind of stuff, not above eightpence a yard, which I heard had been contrived by some of the trade, and was very convenient. I desired they would prepare some of that, or any sort of black stuff, on a certain day, when your grace would appoint as many clergymen as could readily be found to meet at your palace ; and there give their opinions ; and that your grace's visitation approaching, you could then have the best opportunity of seeing what could be done in a matter of such consequence, as they seemed to think, to the woollen manufacture. But instead of attending, as was expected, they came to me a fortnight after with a new proposal, that something should be written by an acceptable and able hand, to promote in general the wearing of home-manufactures ; and their civilities would fix that work upon me. I asked if they had prepared the stuffs, as they had pro-

mised, and your grace expected ; but they had not made the least step in the matter, nor, as it appears, thought of it more.

I did, some years ago, propose to the masters and principal dealers in the home-manufactures of silk and wool, that they should meet together ; and, after mature consideration, publish advertisements to the following purpose :—

That in order to encourage the wearing of Irish manufactures in silk and woollen, they gave notice to the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, That they, the undersigned, would enter into bonds, for themselves and for each other, to sell the several sorts of stuffs, cloths, and silks, made to the best perfection they were able, for certain fixed prices ; and in such a manner, that if a child were sent to any of their shops, the buyer might be secure of the value and goodness and measure of the ware ; and, lest this might be thought to look like a monopoly, any other member of the trade might be admitted, upon such conditions as should be agreed on. And if any person whatsoever should complain that he was ill used, in the value and goodness of what he bought, the matter should be examined, the person injured be fully satisfied by the whole corporation without delay, and the dishonest seller be struck out of the society, unless it appeared evidently that the failure proceeded only from mistake.

The mortal danger is, that if these dealers could prevail, by the goodness and cheapness of their cloths and stuffs, to give a turn to the principal people of Ireland in favour of their goods ; they would relapse into the knavish practice, peculiar to this kingdom, which is apt to run through all trades, even so low as a common ale-

seller ; who, as soon as he gets a vogue for his liquor, and outsells his neighbours, thinks his credit will put off the worst he can buy, till his customers will come no more. Thus, I have known at London, in a general mourning, the drapers dye black all their damaged goods, and sell them at double rates ; then complain, and petition the Court, that they are ready to starve by the continuance of the mourning.

Therefore, I say, those principal weavers who would enter into such a compact as I have mentioned, must give sufficient security against all such practices ; for if once the women can persuade their husbands that foreign goods, besides the finery, will be as cheap, and do more service, our last state will be worse than the first.

I do not here pretend to digest perfectly the method by which these principal shopkeepers shall proceed, in such a proposal : but my meaning is clear enough, and cannot be reasonably objected against.

We have seen what a destructive loss the kingdom received by the detestable fraud of the merchants, or northern linen weavers, or both ; notwithstanding all the care of the governors of that board, when we had an offer of commerce with the Spaniards for our linen, to the value, as I am told, of thirty thousand pounds a-year. But while we deal like pedlars, we shall practise like pedlars, and sacrifice all honesty to the present urging advantage.

What I have said may serve as an answer to the desire made me by the corporation of weavers, that I would offer my notions to the public. As to anything farther, let them apply themselves to the Parliament in their next session. Let them prevail on the House of Commons to grant one very reasonable request ; and I shall think there is still some spirit left in the nation, when I read

a vote to this purpose : “ Resolved, *nemine contradicente*, That this House will, for the future, wear no clothes but such as are made of Irish growth, or of Irish manufacture, nor will permit their wives or children to wear any other ; and that they will, to the utmost, endeavour to prevail with their friends, relations, dependents, and tenants, to follow their example.” And if, at the same time, they could banish tea and coffee, and china-ware, out of their families, and force their wives to chat their scandal over an infusion of sage, or other wholesome domestic vegetables, we might possibly be able to subsist, and pay our absentees, pensioners, generals, civil officers, appeals, colliers, temporary travellers, students, school-boys, splenetic visitors of Bath, Tunbridge, and Epsom, with all other smaller drains, by sending our crude, unwrought goods to England, and receiving from thence, and all other countries, nothing but what is fully manufactured, and keep a few potatoes and oatmeal for our own subsistence.

I have been for a dozen years past wisely prognosticating the present condition of this kingdom ; which any human creature of common sense could foretel, with as little sagacity as myself. My meaning is, that a consumptive body must needs die, which has spent all its spirits, and received no nourishment. Yet I am often tempted to pity, when I hear the poor farmer and cottager lamenting the hardness of the times, and imputing them either to one or two ill seasons, which better climates than ours are more exposed to ; or to scarcity of silver, which, to a nation of liberty, would only be a slight and temporary inconvenience, to be removed at a month’s warning.

ON BARBAROUS DENOMINATIONS IN IRELAND.

SIR,

I HAVE been lately looking over the advertisements in some of your Dublin newspapers, which are sent me to the country, and was much entertained with a large list of denominations of lands, to be sold or let. I am confident they must be genuine; for it is impossible that either chance or modern invention could sort the alphabet in such a manner as to make those abominable sounds; whether first invented to invoke or fright away the devil, I must leave among the curious.

If I could wonder at anything barbarous, ridiculous, or absurd, among us, this should be one of the first. I have often lamented that Agricola, the father-in-law of Tacitus, was not prevailed on by that petty king from Ireland, who followed his camp, to come over and civilize us with a conquest, as his countrymen did Britain, where several Roman appellations remain to this day, and so would the rest have done, if that inundation of Angles, Saxons, and other northern people, had not changed them so much for the worse, although in no comparison with ours. In one of the advertisements just mentioned, I encountered near a hundred words together, which I defy any creature in human shape, except an Irishman of the savage kind, to pronounce; neither

would I undertake such a task, to be owner of the lands, unless I had liberty to humanize the syllables twenty miles round. The legislature may think what they please, and that they are above copying the Romans in all their conquests of barbarous nations; but I am deceived, if anything has more contributed to prevent the Irish from being tamed, than this encouragement of their language, which might be easily abolished, and become a dead one in half an age, with little expense, and less trouble.

How is it possible that a gentleman who lives in those parts where the *town-lands* (as they call them) of his estate produce such odious sounds from the mouth, the throat, and the nose, can be able to repeat the words without dislocating every muscle that is used in speaking, and without applying the same tone to all other words, in every language he understands; as it is plainly to be observed not only in those people of the better sort who live in Galway and the Western parts, but in most counties of Ireland?

It is true, that, in the city parts of London, the trading people have an affected manner of pronouncing; and so, in my time, had many ladies and coxcombs at Court. It is likewise true, that there is an odd provincial cant in most counties in England, sometimes not very pleasing to the ear; and the Scotch cadence, as well as expression, are offensive enough. But none of these defects derive contempt to the speaker: whereas, what we call the *Irish brogue* is no sooner discovered, than it makes the deliverer in the last degree ridiculous and despised; and, from such a mouth, an Englishman expects nothing but bulls, blunders, and follies. Neither does it avail whether the censure be reasonable or not, since the fact is always so. And, what is yet worse, it is too well

known, that the bad consequence of this opinion affects those among us who are not the least liable to such reproaches, farther than the misfortune of being born in Ireland, although of English parents, and whose education has been chiefly in that kingdom.

I have heard many gentlemen among us talk much of the great convenience to those who live in the country, that they should speak Irish. It may possibly be so; but I think they should be such who never intend to visit England, upon pain of being ridiculous; for I do not remember to have heard of any one man that spoke Irish, who had not the accent upon his tongue easily discernible to any English ear.

But I have wandered a little from my subject, which was only to propose a wish that these execrable denominations were a little better suited to an English mouth, if it were only for the sake of the English lawyers; who, in trials upon appeals to the House of Lords, find so much difficulty in repeating the names, that, if the plaintiff or defendant were by, they would never be able to discover which were their own lands. But, besides this, I would desire, not only that the appellations of what they call *town-lands* were changed, but likewise of larger districts, and several towns, and some counties; and particularly the seats of country-gentlemen, leaving an *alias* to solve all difficulties in point of law. But I would by no means trust these alterations to the owners themselves; who, as they are generally no great clerks, so they seem to have no large vocabulary about them, nor to be well skilled in prosody. The utmost extent of their genius lies in naming their country habitation by a hill, a mount, a brook, a burrow, a castle, a bawn, a ford, and the like ingenious conceits. Yet these are exceeded by

others, whereof some have contrived anagrammatical appellations, from half their own and their wives' names joined together: others only from the lady; as, for instance, a person whose wife's name was Elizabeth, calls his seat by the name of *Bess-borow*. There is likewise a famous town, where the worst iron in the kingdom is made, and it is called *Swandlingbar*: the original of which name I shall explain, lest the antiquaries of future ages might be at a loss to derive it. It was a most witty conceit of four gentlemen, who ruined themselves with this iron project. *Sw.* stands for *Swift*,* *And.* for *Sanders*, *Ling* for *Davling*, and *Bar.* for *Barry*. Methinks I see the four loggerheads sitting in consult, like *Smectymnuus*, each gravely contributing a part of his own name, to make up one for their place in the iron-work; and could wish they had been hanged, as well as undone, for their wit. But I was most pleased with the denomination of a town-land, which I lately saw in an advertisement of Pue's paper:—"This is to give notice, that the lands of *Douras, alias WHIG-borough,*" &c. Now, this zealous proprietor, having a mind to record his principles in religion or loyalty to future ages, within five miles round him, for want of other merit, thought fit to make use of this expedient: wherein he seems to mistake his account; for this distinguishing term, whig, had a most infamous original, denoting a man who favoured the fanatic sect, and an enemy to kings, and so continued till this idea was a little softened, some years after the Revolution, and during a part of her late Ma-

* Swift's uncle, Godwin Swift, for whose memory he had no special regard, seems to have been concerned in this ingenious anagram and unfortunate project.

jesty's reign. After which it was in disgrace until the Queen's death, since which time it hath indeed flourished with a witness: But how long will it continue so, in our variable scene, or what kind of mortal it may describe, is a question which this courtly landlord is not able to answer; and therefore he should have set a date on the title of his borough, to let us know what kind of a creature a whig was in that year of our Lord. I would readily assist nomenclators of this costive imagination, and therefore I propose to others of the same size in thinking, that, when they are at a loss about christening a country-seat, instead of straining their invention, they would call it *Booby-borough*, *Fool-brook*, *Puppy-ford*, *Coxcomb-hall*, *Mount-loggerhead*, *Dunce-hill*; which are innocent appellations, proper to express the talents of the owners. But I cannot reconcile myself to the prudence of this lord of *WHIG-borough*, because I have not yet heard, among the Presbyterian squires, how much soever their persons and principles are in vogue, that any of them have distinguished their country abode by the name of *Mount-regicide*, *Covenant-hall*, *Fanatic-hill*, *Roundhead-bawn*, *Canting-brook*, or *Mount-rebel*, and the like; because there may probably come a time when those kind of sounds may not be so grateful to the ears of the kingdom. For I do not conceive it would be a mark of discretion, upon supposing a gentleman, in allusion to his name, or the merit of his ancestors, to call his house *Tyburn-hall*.

But the scheme I would propose for changing the denominations of land into legible and audible syllables, is by employing some gentlemen in the University; who, by the knowledge of the Latin tongue, and their judg-

ment in sounds, might imitate the Roman way, by translating those hideous words into their English meanings, and altering the termination where a bare translation will not form a good cadence to the ear, or be easily delivered from the mouth. And, when both those means happen to fail, then to name the parcels of land from the nature of the soil, or some peculiar circumstance belonging to it; as, in England, *Farn-ham*, *Out-lands*, *Black-heath*, *Corn-bury*, *Rye-gate*, *Ash-burnham*, *Barn-elms*, *Cole-orton*, *Sand-wich*, and many others.

I am likewise apt to quarrel with some titles of lords among us, that have a very ungracious sound, which are apt to communicate mean ideas to those who have not the honour to be acquainted with their persons or their virtues, of whom I have the misfortune to be one. But I cannot pardon those gentlemen who have gotten titles since the judicature of the peers among us has been taken away, to which they all submitted with a resignation that became good Christians, as undoubtedly they are. However, since that time, I look upon a graceful harmonious title to be at least forty *per cent.* in the value intrinsic of an Irish peerage; and, since it is as cheap as the worst, for any Irish law hitherto enacted in England to the contrary, I would advise the next set, before they pass their patents, to call a consultation of scholars and musical gentlemen, to adjust this most important and essential circumstance. The Scotch noblemen, though born almost under the north pole, have much more tunable appellations, except some very few, which I suppose were given them by the Irish along with their language, at the time when that kingdom was conquered and planted from hence; and to this day retain the denomina-

tions of places, and surnames of families, as all historians agree.*

I should likewise not be sorry, if the names of some bishops' sees were so much obliged to the alphabet, that upon pronouncing them we might contract some veneration for the order and persons of those reverend peers, which the gross ideas sometimes joined to their titles are very unjustly apt to diminish.

* This reproach has been certainly removed since the Dean flourished; for the titles of the Irish peerages of late creation have rather been in the opposite extreme, and resemble, in some instances, the appellatives in romances and novels.

Thomas O'Brien MacMahon, an Irish author, quoted by Mr Southey in his *Omniana*, in a most angry pamphlet on "The Candour and Good-nature of Englishmen," has the following diverting passage, which may serve as a corollary to Swift's Tract:—"You sent out the children of your princes," says he, addressing the Irish, "and sometimes your princes in person, to enlighten this kingdom, then sitting in utter darkness, (meaning England) and how have they recompensed you? Why, after lawlessly distributing your estates, possessed for thirteen centuries or more, by your illustrious families, whose antiquity and nobility, if equalled by any nation in the world, none but the immutable God of Abraham's chosen, though, at present, wandering and afflicted people, surpasses: After, I say, seizing on your inheritances, and flinging them among their *Cocks, Hens, Crows, Rooks, Daws, Wolves, Lions, Foxes, Rams, Bulls, Hoggs*, and other beasts and birds of prey, or vesting them in the sweepings of their jails, their *Small-woods, Do-littles, Barebones, Strangeways, Smarts, Sharps, Tarts, Sterns, Churls, and Savages*; their *Greens, Blacks, Browns, Greys and Whites*; their *Smiths, Carpenters, Brewers, Bakers, and Taylors*; their *Sutlers, Cutlers, Butlers, Trustlers and Jugglers*; their *Norths, Souths, and Wests*; their *Fields, Rows, Streets, and Lanes*; their *Toms-sons, Dicks-sons, Johns-sons, James-sons, Wills-sons, and Waters-sons*; their *Shorts, Longs, Lows, and Squabs*; their *Parks, Sacks, Tacks, and Jacks*; and, to complete their ingratitude and injustice, they have transported a cargo of notorious traitors to the Divine Majesty among you, impiously calling them the *Ministers of God's Word*."

IRISH ELOQUENCE.

The following three tracts were found among those preserved by Mr Smith. It would appear that the Dean had amused himself by drawing up the two first as specimens of the provincial dialect of Ireland, and that Sheridan had retaliated in the examples of English blunders contained in the third.

I HOPE you will come and take a drink of my ale. I always brew with my own bear. I was at your large Toun's house, in the county of Fermanegh. He has planted a great many oak trees, and elm trees round his lough: And a good warrent he had, it is kind father for him, I stayd with him a week. At breakfast we had sometimes sowins, and sometimes stirrabout, and sometimes fraughauns and milk; but his cows would hardly give a drop of milk. For his head had lost the pachaun. His neighbour Squire Dolt is a meer bud-daugh. I'd give a cow in Conaught you could see him. He keeps none but garrauns, and he rides on a soogaun with nothing for his bridle but gadd. In that, he is a meer spaulpeen, and a perfect Monaghan, and a Munster Croch to the bargain. Without you saw him on Sunday you would take him for a Brogadeer and a spaned to a carl did not know had to draw butter. We drank balcan and whisky out of madders. And the devil a nig-lugam had but a caddao. I wonder your cozen does na

learn him better manners. Your cousin desires you will buy him some cheney cups. I remember he had a great many; I wonder what is gone with them. I coshered on him for a week. He has a fine staggard of corn. His dedy has been very unwell. I was sorry that anything ayl her father's child.

Firing is very dear thereabout. The turf is drawn tuo near in Kislers; and they send new rounds from the mines, nothing comes in the Cleeves but stock. We had a sereroar of beef, and once a runy for dinner.

A DIALOGUE
 IN HIBERNIAN STYLE,

BETWEEN A AND B.

The specimen of Iricisms, or what Swift condemned as such, is taken from an unfinished copy in the Dean's hand-writing, found among Mr Lyons papers.

A. Them aples is very good.

B. I cam *again* you in that.

A. Lord I was bodderd t'other day with that pra-ting fool, Tom.

B. Pray, how does he *get* his health?

A. He's often very *unwell*.

B. [I] hear he was a great pet of yours.

A. Where does he live?

B. Opposite the red Lyon.

A. I think he behaved very ill the last sessions.

B. That's true, but I cannot forbear loving his father's child: Will you take a glass of my ale?

A. No, I thank you, I took a drink of small beer at home before I came here.

B. I always brew with my own bear: You have a country-house: Are you [a] planter.

A. Yes, I have planted a great many oak trees and ash trees, and some elm trees round a lough.

B. And so a good warrant you have: It is kind father for you.

A. And what breakfast do you take in the country?

B. Sometimes stirabout, and in summer we have the best frauhaug in all the county.

A. What kind of man is your neighbour Squire Dolt?

B. Why, a meer Buddogh. He sometimes coshers with me; and once a month I take a pipe with him, and we shot it about for an hour together.

A. I hear he keeps good horses.

B. None but garrauns, and I have seen him often riding on a sougawn. In short, he is no better than a spawlpien; a perfect Marcghen. When I was there last, we had nothing but a medder to drink out of; and the devil a nighigam but a caddao. Will you go see him when you come unto our quarter?

A. Not *without* you go with me.

B. Will you lend me your snuff-box?

A. Do you make good cheese and butter?

B. Yes, when we can get milk; but our cows will never keep a drop of milk without a Puckaun.

ENGLISH BLUNDERS.

Με Εδουαρδς of Βρελσον sayd, One of the most expeditious carriages for travelling was, *a one horse chaise* with two horses.

Με Ευανς sayd, He doubted not but Με Εδουαρδς goes *to bed every night* at this time of year [middle of August] *an hour before night*.

Με Ίλλ, upon seeing Με Ευανς, (who has been a lame man several years) working with a rake to amuse himself in his garden, sayd, *I think, Με Ευανς, you handle your legs better now than you have done for these many years. Yes, I do*, said Με Ευανς, *I thank God, a great deal better.* Query. If both were not guilty of a blunder.

Με Ευανς asked Χαρλες Γουιλλιμ what hour the violent shower of rain was last night. *I cannot tell*, sayd Χαρλες, *for I went to sleep, and slept till I wakened.*

Με Ευανς sayd, *that Με Δεβε would go a-hunting as long as he could stand.*

Με Ευανς sayd, *Such a lady had buried several of [her] children of the small pox, and several times.*

Gloucester Journal, Oct. 20, 1761.—Wanted, a very good cook, in a large gentleman's family, &c.

Herbert told Mr Hall that such a one died suddenly, *and never spoke a word after.*

ANSWER TO A PAPER, &c.

The Memorial to which this paper is an answer, was written by Sir John Browne, the same person to whom the Dean alludes, as one of the witnesses examined before the council of England, in favour of Wood's project, and whom he stigmatizes as a person tried for a rape, and one whose name stood recorded in the votes of the Irish House of Commons for endeavouring, by perjury and subornation, to take away the life of John Bingham, Esq. Sir John Browne, in the following letter, which appears to have been sent shortly after the Memorial had been submitted to the Dean's inspection, endeavours to mollify Swift by submission, and labours to exculpate himself, or at least to apologize for the part he had taken in Wood's affair. The Dean lent a compassionate ear to Sir John's application, and omitted, in future editions of the Drapier's third Letter, those passages which recorded his public disgrace.

FROM SIR JOHN BROWNE.

Dawson Street, April 4, 1728.

REV. SIR,

BY a strange fatality, though you were the only person in the world from whom I would conceal my being an author, yet you were unaccountably the only one let into the secret of it: the ignorant poor man who was entrusted by me to deliver out the little books, though he kept the secret from all others, yet, from the nature of the subject, concluded that I could have no interest in

concealing it from you, who were so universally known to be an indefatigable promoter of the welfare of Ireland. But, though the accident gave me some uneasiness at first, yet, when I consider your character, I cannot doubt (however slender the foundation of such a hope may be from any merits of my own) your generosity will oblige you to conceal what chance has revealed to you, and incline you to judge of me, not from the report of my enemies, but from what I appear in the little tracts which have waited on you.

I shall not presume, sir, to detain you with the narrative of the origin and progress of the parliamentary accusations and vote against me; although, would you do me the honour to inquire, I could easily convince you, from my own particular case, that men have two characters, one which is either good or bad, according to the prevailing number of their friends or enemies; and one which never varies for either; one which has little or no regard to the virtue or vice of the subject, and one which regards that alone, is inherent (if I may say so) in the subject, and describes it what it really is, without regard either to friends or enemies.

All I shall beg of you is, to suspend your judgment upon it; since all parties allow that, although I had several summons from the committee for Monday, and many evidences on the road in obedience to their summons, yet I was tied down by the committee the preceding Saturday, and deprived of the benefit of all my evidences, notwithstanding anything I could urge to the contrary. This, I hope, I may say without injury to Mr Bingham; for sure he may be entirely innocent, and yet a magistrate under the immediate direction of the Lord Chief-justice, who takes examinations against him,

examinations that do not even contain matter to form an indictment upon, may be innocent also.

It shall suffice therefore to say, I went from Ireland loaded with the severest censures of the House of Commons; injured, as I thought, and oppressed to the greatest degree imaginable; robbed of that character which was dearer to me than life itself; and all that by an overbearing and overpowering interest.

I sought in England for that peace and protection which was denied me at home. My public character followed me: my countrymen injured me. The nature of man is sociable; I was forced to herd with strangers. A prime minister, engaged in the success of a scheme, wants no emissaries to spy out all that makes for him, and to fly with what they have found to their employer. I was unfortunately set by those sort of creatures: my sentiments on the state of our money matters were industriously sifted through me; and when that was done, before I knew anything of the matter, I was served with his Majesty's summons; in a hurry I ran out of town, and staid in the country a while; but, on my return again, found another summons at my lodgings; and, terrified by the dismal effects of power at home from risking a second shipwreck abroad, I yielded to it, and appeared at the Cockpit.

It is true, my appearance at the Cockpit, to those who knew me only by the votes in the House of Commons, must have looked like a design of a revenge; and I had many and powerful enemies, who gave all my actions the worst colour. But to take the matter impartially, sir, is there no allowance to be made for a mind already broken by the dismal effects of prevailing power, and filled with the apprehensions of second dangers? Is

there no allowance for a man, young in the knowledge of the world, under all these fears and misfortunes, if he has yielded to the repeated summons of the council of England, in which his Majesty was present; and if he was there, after a long and strenuous opposition, forced to tell his sentiments, forced, sir, to tell his sentiments, not in the manner represented to the world, but in a manner the most cautious of giving room for a pretence to oppose the inclinations of our Parliament?

But alas, the consequence!—You, sir, the defender of Ireland, were soon engaged against me on that account, and that fatal genius of yours in an instant ruined my character. But, even ruin-bearing as it was, I blessed it; the cause which you undertook was dear to me; and though fame is the last thing which one would sacrifice even for his country, yet I parted with that with pleasure, while you thought it necessary for the public good so to do. But now the end is served, dear sir, may not the man have his mare again?

Plato, being told that certain persons aspersed his character, and represented him abroad as a very ill man, instead of expostulating with his enemies, and returning reproach for reproach, consoled himself, saying,—“No matter, my friends; the whole life of Plato shall give his accusers the lie.”

Could I set before me a greater example? Under the general displeasure of my country,—under all the censures which the restless malice of my enemies could devise,—and under the keen edge of the Drapier’s wit,—the only revenge in which I indulged myself was, by a steady love for my country, and by manifest acts of affection thereto, to be a silent reproach to the foul tongues of my enemies.

Permit then, sir, permit me in peace to take his great example, and no longer give way to the power of my enemies, by continuing to oppress me. They have already gained their cause by you ; but I must say, it was not the sword of Ajax, but the armour of Achilles which he put on, that won the day.

The cause for which you undertook my ruin was the cause of my country. It was a good cause, and you shall ever find me of that side. You have carried it, and I know you will no longer be my enemy. But, alas ! as long as your works subsist, wherever they be read, even unto the end of time, must I be branded as a villain. It is a hard sentence ; and yet, unless the spear of Achilles, the same instrument which gave the wound, administer the remedy, it must be so.

In short, sir, you must be a man of honour ; it is not possible that honour should be wanting, where all the distinguishing characteristics of it are found. I cannot doubt it ; and, therefore, I will let you fully into a secret, which accident has given you a part of, and I am sure you will keep it.

The source of all my misfortunes was the vote of the House of Commons ; but I have laboured, however, as I always shall, to serve my country, and make myself agreeable to them. And though the misfortune of a bad public character deprived me of the private conversation of my countrymen, which is the surest and best way to know our true interest, yet I flatter myself, that my little essays may be useful ; at least, they may be no bad beginning, and you know it is easy to add to a work once begun. But if the work is known to be mine, the very name will condemn it, and render it useless to my country.

Whatever the faults may be, I have publicly applied to you to amend them, before the bearer's mistake made me determine this private application to you; and I must say, that I shall reckon it no small degree of honour if you take that trouble upon you.

In the mean time, I shall beg the favour of you to keep a secret, which no other person but my printer, my bookseller, and the bearer knows.—I am,

Reverend sir,

Your most obedient servant,

JOHN BROWNE.

ANSWER TO A PAPER,

CALLLED

A MEMORIAL

OF THE

POOR INHABITANTS, TRADESMEN, AND LABOURERS,
OF THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND.*

Dublin, March 25, 1738.

SIR,

I RECEIVED a paper from you, whoever you are, printed without any name of author or printer, and sent, I suppose, to me among others, without any particular distinction. It contains a complaint of the dearness of corn, and some schemes for making it cheaper which I cannot approve of.

But pray permit me, before I go farther, to give you a short history of the steps by which we arrived at this hopeful situation.

It was, indeed, the shameful practice of too many Irish farmers, to wear out their ground with ploughing; while, either through poverty, laziness, or ignorance, they neither took care to manure it as they ought, nor gave time to any part of the land to recover itself; and, when their

* The Memorial was written by Sir John Browne.

leases were near expiring, being assured that their landlords would not renew, they ploughed even the meadows, and made such havock, that many landlords were considerable sufferers by it.

This gave birth to that abominable race of graziers, who, upon expiration of the farmers' leases, were ready to engross great quantities of land; and the gentlemen having been before often ill paid, and their land worn out of heart, were too easily tempted, when a rich grazier made an offer to take all their land, and give them security for payment. Thus a vast track of land, where twenty or thirty farmers lived, together with their cottagers and labourers in their several cabins, became all desolate, and easily managed by one or two herdsmen and their boys; whereby the master grazier, with little trouble, seized to himself the livelihood of a hundred people.

It must be confessed, that the farmers were justly punished for their knavery, brutality, and folly. But neither are the squires and landlords to be excused; for to them is owing the depopulating of the country, the vast number of beggars, and the ruin of those few sorry improvements we had.

That farmers should be limited in ploughing is very reasonable, and practised in England, and might have easily been done here by penal clauses in their leases; but to deprive them, in a manner, altogether from tilling their lands, was a most stupid want of thinking.

Had the farmers been confined to plough a certain quantity of land, with a penalty of ten pounds an acre for whatever they exceeded, and farther limited for the three or four last years of their leases, all this evil had been prevented; the nation would have saved a million

of money, and been more populous by above two hundred thousand souls.*

For a people, denied the benefit of trade, to manage their lands in such a manner as to produce nothing but what they are forbidden to trade with, or only such things as they can neither export nor manufacture to advantage, is an absurdity that a wild Indian would be ashamed of; especially when we add, that we are content to purchase this hopeful commerce, by sending to foreign markets for our daily bread.

The grazier's employment is to feed great flocks of sheep, or black cattle, or both. With regard to sheep, as folly is usually accompanied with perverseness, so it is here. There is something so monstrous to deal in a commodity (farther than for our own use) which we are not allowed to export manufactured, nor even unmanufactured, but to one certain country, and only to some few ports in that country; there is, I say, something so sottish, that it wants a name in our language to express it by: and the good of it is, that the more sheep we have, the fewer human creatures are left to wear the wool, or eat the flesh. Ajax was mad, when he mistook a flock of sheep for his enemies; but we shall never be sober, until we have the same way of thinking.

The other part of the grazier's business is, what we call black-cattle, producing hides, tallow, and beef for

* There is an obvious advantage in what is proposed. If the penalty come, in the course of the lease, to bear such proportion as makes it worth the farmer's while to till the ground even at the advanced rent thus imposed, it must be in a season of public scarcity, when it is advisable that as much corn should be raised as possible. But a positive prohibition cannot yield to circumstances.

exportation : all which are good and useful commodities, if rightly managed. But it seems, the greatest part of the hides are sent out raw, for want of bark to tan them ; and that want will daily grow stronger ; for I doubt the new project of tanning without it is at an end. Our beef, I am afraid, still continues scandalous in foreign markets, for the old reasons. But our tallow, for anything I know, may be good. However, to bestow the whole kingdom on beef and mutton, and thereby drive out half the people who should eat their share, and force the rest to send sometimes as far as Egypt for bread to eat with it, is a most peculiar and distinguished piece of public economy, of which I have no comprehension.

I know very well that our ancestors the Scythians, and their posterity our kinsmen the Tartars, lived upon the blood, and milk, and raw flesh of their cattle, without one grain of corn ; but I confess myself so degenerate, that I am not easy without bread to my victuals.

What amazed me for a week or two, was to see, in this prodigious plenty of cattle, and dearth of human creatures, and want of bread, as well as money to buy it, that all kind of flesh-meat should be monstrously dear, beyond what was ever known in this kingdom. I thought it a defect in the laws, that there was not some regulation in the price of flesh, as well as bread : but I imagine myself to have guessed out the reason : in short, I am apt to think that the whole kingdom is overstocked with cattle, both black and white ; and as it is observed, that the poor Irish have a vanity to be rather owners of two lean cows, than one fat, although with double the charge of grazing, and but half the quantity of milk ; so I conceive it much more difficult at present to find a fat bullock or wether, than it would be if half of them were

fairly knocked on the head : for I am assured that the district in the several markets called Carrion Row is as reasonable as the poor can desire ; only the circumstances of money to purchase it, and of trade, or labour, to purchase that money, are indeed wholly wanting.

Now, sir, to return more particularly to you and your memorial.

A hundred thousand barrels of wheat, you say, should be imported hither ; and ten thousand pounds premium to the importers. Have you looked into the purse of the nation ? I am no commissioner of the treasury ; but am well assured that the whole running cash would not supply you with a sum to purchase so much corn, which, only at twenty shillings a barrel, will be a hundred thousand pounds ; and ten thousand more for the premium. But you will traffic for your corn with other goods : and where are those goods ? if you had them, they are all engaged to pay the rents of absentees, and other occasions in London, besides a huge balance of trade this year against us. Will foreigners take our bankers' paper ? I suppose they will value it at little more than so much a quire. Where are these rich farmers and engrossers of corn, in so bad a year, and so little sowing ?

You are in pain for two shillings premium, and forget the twenty shillings for the price ; find me out the latter, and I will engage for the former.

Your scheme for a tax for raising such a sum is all visionary, and owing to a great want of knowledge in the miserable state of this nation. Tea, coffee, sugar, spices, wine, and foreign cloths, are the particulars you mention upon which this tax should be raised. I will allow the two first ; because they are unwholesome ; and the last, because I should be glad if they were all burn-

ed : but I beg you will leave us our wine to make us a while forget our misery ; or give your tenants leave to plough for barley. But I will tell you a secret, which I learned many years ago from the commissioners of the customs in London : they said, when any commodity appeared to be taxed above a moderate rate, the consequence was, to lessen that branch of the revenue by one half ; and one of those gentlemen pleasantly told me, that the mistake of parliaments, on such occasions, was owing to an error of computing two and two to make four ; whereas, in the business of laying impositions, two and two never made more than one ; which happens by lessening the import, and the strong temptation of running such goods as paid high duties, at least in this kingdom. Although the women are as vain and extravagant as their lovers or their husbands can deserve, and the men are fond enough of wine ; yet the number of both who can afford such expenses is so small, that the major part must refuse gratifying themselves, and the duties will rather be lessened than increased. But, allowing no force in this argument ; yet so preternatural a sum as one hundred and ten thousand pounds, raised all on a sudden, (for there is no dallying with hunger,) is just in proportion with raising a million and a half in England ; which, as things now stand, would probably bring that opulent kingdom under some difficulties.

You are concerned how strange and surprising it would be in foreign parts to hear that the poor were starving in a RICH country, &c. Are you in earnest ? Is Ireland the rich country you mean ? Or are you insulting our poverty ? Were you ever out of Ireland ? Or were you ever in it till of late ? You may probably have a good employment, and are saving all you can to

purchase a good estate in England. But by talking so familiarly of one hundred and ten thousand pounds, by a tax upon a few commodities, it is plain you are either naturally or affectedly ignorant of our present condition: or else you would know and allow, that such a sum is not to be raised here, without a general excise; since, in proportion to our wealth, we pay already in taxes more than England ever did in the height of war. And when you have brought over your corn, who will be the buyers? most certainly not the poor, who will not be able to purchase the twentieth part of it.

Sir, upon the whole, your paper is a very crude piece, liable to more objections than there are lines; but I think your meaning is good, and so far you are pardonable.

If you will propose a general contribution for supporting the poor in potatoes and butter-milk, till the new corn comes in, perhaps you may succeed better, because the thing at least is possible; and I think if our brethren in England would contribute upon this emergency, out of the million they gain from us every year, they would do a piece of justice as well as charity. In the meantime, go and preach to your own tenants, to fall to the plough as fast as they can; and prevail with your neighbouring squires to do the same with theirs; or else die with the guilt of having driven away half the inhabitants, and starving the rest. For as to your scheme of raising one hundred and ten thousand pounds, it is as vain as that of Rabelais, which was, to squeeze out wind from the posteriors of a dead ass.

But why all this concern for the poor? We want them not, as the country is now managed; they may follow thousands of their leaders, and seek their bread

abroad. Where the plough has no work, one family can do the business of fifty, and you may send away the other forty-nine. An admirable piece of husbandry, never known or practised by the wisest nations, who erroneously thought people to be the riches of a country!

If so wretched a state of things would allow it, methinks I could have a malicious pleasure, after all the warning I have in vain given the public, at my own peril, for several years past, to see the consequences and events answering in every particular. I pretend to no sagacity: what I writ was little more than what I had discoursed to several persons, who were generally of my opinion; and it was obvious to every common understanding, that such effects must needs follow from such causes;—a fair issue of things begun upon party rage, while some sacrificed the public to fury, and others to ambition: while a spirit of faction and oppression reigned in every part of the country, where gentlemen, instead of consulting the ease of their tenants, or cultivating their lands, were worrying one another upon points of Whig and Tory, of High Church and Low Church; which no more concerned them than the long and famous controversy of strops for razors: while agriculture was wholly discouraged, and consequently half the farmers and labourers, and poorer tradesmen, forced to beggary or banishment. “Wisdom crieth in the streets: Because I have called on you; I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded; but ye have set at nought all my counsels, and would none of my reproof; I also will laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh.”

I have now done with your Memorial, and freely excuse your mistakes, since you appear to write as a stran-

ger, and as of a country which is left at liberty to enjoy the benefits of nature, and to make the best of those advantages which God has given it, in soil, climate, and situation.

But having lately sent out a paper, entitled, *A Short View of the State of Ireland*; and hearing of an objection, that some people think I have treated the memory of the late Lord Chief Justice Whitshed with an appearance of severity; since I may not probably have another opportunity of explaining myself in that particular, I choose to do it here. Laying it, therefore, down for a postulatam, which I suppose will be universally granted, that no little creature of so mean a birth and genius, had ever the honour to be a greater enemy to his country, and to all kinds of virtue, than HE, I answer thus; whether there be two different goddesses called Fame, as some authors contend, or only one goddess sounding different trumpets, it is certain that people distinguished for their villainy have as good a title to a blast from the proper trumpet, as those who are most renowned for their virtues have from the other; and have equal reason to complain if it be refused them. And accordingly the names of the most celebrated profligates have been faithfully transmitted down to posterity. And although the person here understood acted his part in an obscure corner of the world, yet his talents might have shone with lustre enough in the noblest scene.

As to my naming a person dead, the plain honest reason is the best. He was armed with power and will to do mischief, even where he was not provoked, as appeared by his prosecuting two printers,* one to death, and both

* Edward Waters and John Harding.—F.

to ruin, who had neither offended God nor the King, nor him nor the public.

What an encouragement to vice is this ! If an ill man be alive, and in power, we dare not attack him ; and if he be weary of the world, or of his own villainies, he has nothing to do but die, and then his reputation is safe. For these excellent casuists know just Latin enough to have heard a most foolish precept, that *de mortuis nil nisi bonum* ; so that if Socrates, and Anytus his accuser, had happened to die together, the charity of survivors must either have obliged them to hold their peace, or fix the same character on both. The only crime of charging the dead is, when the least doubt remains whether the accusation be true ; but when men are openly abandoned, and lost to all shame, they have no reason to think it hard if their memory be reproached. Whoever reports, or otherwise publishes, anything which it is possible may be false, that man is a slanderer ; *hic niger est, hunc tu, Romane, caveto*. Even the least misrepresentation, or aggravation of facts, deserves the same censure, in some degree ; but in this case, I am quite deceived if my error has not been on the side of extenuation.

I have now present before me the idea of some persons (I know not in what part of the world) who spend every moment of their lives, and every turn of their thoughts, while they are awake, (and probably of their dreams while they sleep,) in the most detestable actions and designs ; who delight in mischief, scandal, and obloquy, with the hatred and contempt of all mankind against them, but chiefly of those among their own party and their own family ; such, whose odious qualities rival each other for perfection : avarice, brutality, faction, pride,

malice, treachery, noise, impudence, dulness; ignorance, vanity, and revenge, contending every moment for superiority in their breasts. Such creatures are not to be reformed, neither is it prudent or safe to attempt a reformation. Yet, although their memories will rot, there may be some benefit for their survivors to smell it while it is rotting.

I am, Sir,

Your humble servant,

A. B.

TWO LETTERS

ON

SUBJECTS RELATIVE TO THE IMPROVEMENT
OF IRELAND.

I.

TO MESSRS TRUMAN AND LAYFIELD.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM inclined to think that I received a letter from you two, last summer, directed to Dublin, while I was in the country, whither it was sent me; and I ordered an answer to it to be printed, but it seems it had little effect, and I suppose this will not have much more. But the heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes they have closed. And, gentlemen, I am to tell you another thing; that the world is too regardless of what we write for public good: that after we have delivered our thoughts, without any prospect of advantage, or of reputation, which latter is not to be had but by subscribing our names, we cannot prevail upon a printer to be at the charge of sending it into the world, unless we will be at all or half the expense; and although we are willing enough to bestow our labours, we think it unreasonable to be out of pocket; because it probably may not consist with the situation of our affairs.

I do very much approve your good intentions, and in a great measure your manner of declaring them; and I do imagine you intended that the world should not only know your sentiments, but my answer, which I shall impartially give.

That great prelate,* in whose cover you directed your letter, sent it me in the morning; and I begin my answer to-night, not knowing what interruption I may meet with.

I have ordered your letter to be printed, as it ought to be, along with my answer; because I conceive it will be more acceptable and informing to the kingdom.

I shall therefore now go on to answer your letter in all manner of sincerity.

Although your letter be directed to me, yet I take myself to be only an imaginary person; for, although I conjecture I had formerly one from you, yet I never answered it otherwise than in print; neither was I at a loss to know the reasons why so many people of this kingdom were transporting themselves to America. And if this encouragement were owing to a pamphlet written, giving an account of the country of Pennsylvania, to tempt people to go thither, I do declare that those who were tempted, by such a narrative, to such a journey, were fools, and the author a most impudent knave; at least, if it be the same pamphlet I saw when it first came out, which is above twenty-five years ago, dedicated to William Penn (whom by a mistake you call "Sir William Penn,") and styling him, by authority of the Scripture, "Most Noble Governor." For I was very well acquainted with Penn, and did, some years after, talk

* Archbishop King.

with him upon that pamphlet, and the impudence of the author, who spoke so many things in praise of the soil and climate, which Penn himself did absolutely contradict. For he did assure me, "That this country wanted the shelter of mountains, which left it open to the northern winds from Hudson's Bay and the Frozen Sea, which destroyed all plantations of trees, and was even pernicious to all common vegetables." But, indeed, New York, Virginia, and other parts less northward, or more defended by mountains, are described as excellent countries: but, upon what conditions of advantage foreigners go thither, I am yet to seek.

What evils our people avoid by running from hence, is easier to be determined. They conceive themselves to live under the tyranny of most cruel exacting landlords, who have no views farther than increasing their rents. Secondly, You complain of the want of trade, whereof you seem not to know the reason. Thirdly, You lament most justly the money spent by absentees in England. Fourthly, You complain that your linen manufacture declines. Fifthly, That your tithe-collectors oppress you. Sixthly, That your children have no hopes of preferment in the church, the revenue, or the army; to which you might have added the law, and all civil employments whatsoever. Seventhly, You are undone for want of silver, and want all other money.

I could easily add some other motives, which, to men of spirit, who desire and expect, and think they deserve the common privileges of human nature, would be of more force, than any you have yet named, to drive them out of this kingdom. But, as these speculations may probably not much affect the brains of your people, I shall choose to let them pass unmentioned. Yet I cannot but

observe, that my very good and virtuous friend, his excellency Burnet,* (*O fili, nec tali indigne parente !*) has not hitherto been able to persuade his vassals, by his oratory in the style of a commander, to settle a revenue on his vicerojal person. I have been likewise assured, that in one of those colonies on the continent, which nature has so far favoured, as (by the industry of the inhabitants) to produce a great quantity of excellent rice, the stubborn people, having been told that the world was wide, took it into their heads that they might sell their own rice at whatever foreign market they pleased, and seem, by their practice, very unwilling to quit that opinion.

But, to return to my subject : I must confess to you both, that if one reason of your people's deserting us be, the despair of things growing better in their own country, I have not one syllable to answer ; because that would be to hope for what is impossible ; and so I have been telling the public these ten years. For there are events which must precede any such blessing : First, a liberty of trade ; secondly, a share of preferments in all kinds, equal to the British natives ; and thirdly, a re-

* William Burnet, the eldest son of Bishop Burnet, was at this time governor of Massachusetts. He insisted upon a fixed salary being settled upon him as governor, and was involved in warm disputes with the General Assembly of the province on that account. At length being deprived of his salary by refusing to receive it in the mode proposed by the Assembly, he attempted to indemnify himself by imposing a duty upon vessels leaving the harbour, to be levied by means of passes granted by the governor. This being complained of to the King and council, was disapproved as illegal and oppressive. He did not live to see an end of this controversy ; and on his death in 1719, the Assembly, relenting in their resentment, ordered the erection of a monument to his memory.

turn of those absentees, who take almost one half of the kingdom's revenue. As to the first and second, there is nothing left us but despair ; and for the third, it will never happen till the kingdom has no money to send them ; for which, in my own particular, I shall not be sorry.

The exaction of landlords has indeed been a grievance of above twenty years' standing. But as to what you object about the severe clauses relating to the improvement, the fault lies wholly on the other side : for the landlords, either by their ignorance, or greediness of making large rent-rolls, have performed this matter so ill, as we see by experience, that there is not one tenant in five hundred who has made any improvement worth mentioning : for which I appeal to any man who rides through the kingdom, where little is to be found among the tenants but beggary and desolation ; the cabins of the Scotch themselves, in Ulster, being as dirty and miserable as those of the wildest Irish. Whereas good firm penal laws for improvement, with a tolerable easy rent, and a reasonable period of time, would, in twenty years, have increased the rents of Ireland at least a third part of the intrinsic value.

I am glad to hear you speak with some decency of the clergy, and to impute the exactions you lament to the managers or farmers of the tithes. But you entirely mistake the fact ; for I defy the most wicked and the most powerful clergyman in the kingdom to oppress the meanest farmer in the parish ; and I defy the same clergyman to prevent himself from being cheated by the same farmer, whenever that farmer shall be disposed to be knavish or peevish. For, although the Ulster tithing-teller is more advantageous to the clergy than any other

in the kingdom, yet the minister can demand no more than his tenth ; and where the corn much exceeds the small tithes, as, except in some districts, I am told it always does, he is at the mercy of every stubborn farmer, especially of those whose sect as well as interest incline them to opposition. However, I take it that your people bent for America do not shew the best side of their prudence in making this one part of their complaint : yet they are so far wise, as not to make the payment of tithes a scruple of conscience, which is too gross for any Protestant dissenter, except a Quaker, to pretend. But do your people indeed think, that if tithes were abolished, or delivered into the hands of the landlord, after the blessed manner in the Scotch spiritual economy, the tenant would sit easier in his rent under the same person, who must be lord of the soil and of the tithe together ?

I am ready enough to grant, that the oppression of landlords, the utter ruin of trade, with its necessary consequences, the want of money, half the revenues of the kingdom spent abroad, the continued dearth of three years, and the strong delusion in your people by false allurements from America, may be the chief motives of their eagerness after such an expedition. But there is likewise another temptation, which is not of inconsiderable weight ; which is their itch of living in a country where their sect is predominant, and where their eyes and consciences will not be offended by the stumbling-block of ceremonies, habits, and spiritual titles. But I was surprised to find that those calamities, whereof we are innocent, have been sufficient to drive many families out of their country, who had no reason to complain of oppressive landlords. For, while I was last year in the northern parts, a person of quality, whose estate was let

above twenty years ago, and then at a very reasonable rent, some for leases of lives, and some perpetuities, did, in a few months, purchase eleven of those leases at a very inconsiderable price, although they were, two years ago, reckoned to pay but half value. Whence it is manifest, that our present miserable condition, and the dismal prospect of worse, with other reasons above assigned, are sufficient to put men upon trying this desperate experiment, of changing the scene they are in, although landlords should, by a miracle, become less inhuman.

There is hardly a scheme proposed for improving the trade of this kingdom, which does not manifestly shew the stupidity and ignorance of the proposer; and I laugh with contempt at those weak wise heads, who proceed upon general maxims, or advise us to follow the examples of Holland and England. These empirics talk by rote, without understanding the constitution of the kingdom: as if a physician, knowing that exercise contributed much to health, should prescribe to his patient under a severe fit of the gout, to walk ten miles every morning. The directions for Ireland are very short and plain; to encourage agriculture and home consumption, and utterly discard all importations which are not absolutely necessary for health or life. And how few necessaries, conveniences, or even comforts of life, are denied us by nature, or not to be attained by labour and industry! Are those detestable extravagancies of Flanders lace, English cloths made of our own wool, and other goods, Italian or Indian silks, tea, coffee, chocolate, china-ware, and that profusion of wines, by the knavery of merchants growing dearer every season, with a hundred unnecessary fopperies, better known to others than me; are these, I say, fit for us, any more than for the beggar.

who could not eat his veal without oranges? Is it not the highest indignity to human nature, that men should be such poltroons as to suffer the kingdom and themselves to be undone, by the vanity, the folly, the pride, and wantonness of their wives, who, under their present corruptions, seem to be a kind of animal, suffered, for our sins, to be sent into the world for the destruction of families, societies, and kingdoms; and whose whole study seems directed to be as expensive as they possibly can, in every useless article of living; who, by long practice, can reconcile the most pernicious foreign drugs to their health and pleasure, provided they are but expensive, as starlings grow fat with henbane; who contract a robustness by mere practice of sloth and luxury; who can play deep several hours after midnight, sleep beyond noon, revel upon Indian poisons, and spend the revenues of a moderate family to adorn a nauseous, unwholesome living carcase? Let those few who are not concerned in any part of this accusation, suppose it unsaid; let the rest take it among them. Gracious God, in his mercy, look down upon a nation so shamefully besotted!

If I am possessed of a hundred pounds a-year, and by some misfortune it sinks to fifty, without a possibility of ever being retrieved; does it remain a question, in such an exigency, what I am to do? must not I retrench one half in every article of expense? or retire to some cheap, distant part of the country, where necessaries are at half-value?

Is there any mortal who can shew me, under the circumstances we stand with our neighbours, under their inclinations towards us, under laws never to be repealed, under the desolation caused by absentees, under many other circumstances not to be mentioned, that this king-

dom can ever be a nation of trade, or subsist by any other method than that of a reduced family, by the utmost parsimony, in the manner I have already prescribed ?

I am tired with letters from many unreasonable, well-meaning people, who are daily pressing me to deliver my thoughts in this deplorable juncture, which, upon many others, I have so often done in vain. What will it import, that half a score people in a coffeeshouse may happen to read this paper, and even the majority of those few differ in every sentiment from me ? If the farmer be not allowed to sow his corn ; if half the little money among us be sent to pay rents to Irish ábsentees, and the rest for foreign luxuries and dress for the women, what will our charitable dispositions avail, when there is nothing left to be given ? when, contrary to all custom and example, all necessaries of life are so exorbitant ; when money of all kinds was never known to be so scarce ; so that gentlemen of no contemptible estates are forced to retrench in every article, (except what relates to their wives,) without being able to shew any bounty to the poor ?

II.

ANSWER TO SEVERAL LETTERS SENT FROM
UNKNOWN HANDS. 1729.

I AM very well pleased with the good opinion you express of me; and wish it were any way in my power to answer your expectations, for the service of my country. I have carefully read your several schemes and proposals, which you think should be offered to the Parliament. In answer, I will assure you, that, in another place, I have known very good proposals rejected with contempt by public assemblies, merely because they were offered from without doors; and yours, perhaps, might have the same fate, especially if handed to the public by me, who am not acquainted with three members, nor have the least interest with one. My printers have been twice prosecuted, to my great expense, on account of discourses I writ for the public service, without the least reflection on parties or persons; and the success I had in those of the *Drapier*, was not owing to my abilities, but to a lucky juncture, when the fuel was ready for the first hand that would be at the pains of kindling it. It is true, both those envenomed prosecutions were the workmanship of a judge, who is now gone *to his own place*. But, let that be as it will, I am determined, henceforth, never to be the instrument of leaving an innocent man at the mercy of that bench.

It is certain there are several particulars relating to this kingdom (I have mentioned a few of them in one of my Drapier's letters,) which it were heartily to be wished that the Parliament would take under their consideration, such as will no way interfere with England, otherwise than to its advantage.

The first I shall mention, is touched at in a letter which I received from one of you, gentlemen, about the highways ; which, indeed, are almost everywhere scandalously neglected. I know a very rich man in this city, a true lover and saver of his money, who, being possessed of some adjacent lands, has been at great charge in repairing effectually the roads that lead to them ; and has assured me that his lands are thereby advanced four or five shillings an acre, by which he gets treble interest. But, generally speaking, all over the kingdom the roads are deplorable ; and, what is more particularly barbarous, there is no sort of provision made for travellers on foot ; no, not near the city, except in a very few places, and in a most wretched manner : whereas the English are so particularly careful in this point, that you may travel there a hundred miles with less inconvenience than one mile here. But, since this may be thought too great a reformation, I shall only speak of roads for horses, carriages, and cattle.

Ireland is, I think, computed to be one-third smaller than England ; yet, by some natural disadvantages, it would not bear quite the same proportion in value, with the same encouragement. However, it has so happened, for many years past, that it never arrived to above one-eleventh part in point of riches ; and of late, by the continual decrease of trade, and the increase of absentees, with other circumstances not here to be mentioned, hardly to

a fifteenth part ; at least, if my calculations be right, which I doubt are a little too favourable on our side.

Now, supposing day-labour to be cheaper by one half here than in England, and our roads, by the nature of our carriages, and the desolation of our country, to be not worn and beaten above one-eighth part so much as those of England, which is a very moderate computation, I do not see why the mending of them would be a greater burden to this kingdom than to that.

There have been, I believe, twenty acts of Parliament, in six or seven years of the late King, for mending long tracts of impassable ways in several counties of England, by erecting turnpikes, and receiving passage-money, in a manner that everybody knows. If what I have advanced be true, it would be hard to give a reason against the same practice here ; since the necessity is as great, the advantage, in proportion, perhaps much greater, the materials of stone and gravel as easy to be found, and the workmanship, at least, twice as cheap. Besides, the work may be done gradually, with allowances for the poverty of the nation, by so many perch a-year ; but with a special care to encourage skill and diligence, and to prevent fraud in the undertakers, to which we are too liable, and which are not always confined to those of the meaner sort : but against these, no doubt, the wisdom of the nation may and will provide.

Another evil, which, in my opinion, deserves the public care, is the ill management of the bogs ; the neglect whereof is a much greater mischief to this kingdom than most people seem to be aware of.

It is allowed, indeed, by those who are esteemed most skilful in such matters, that the red, swelling mossy bog, whereof we have so many large tracts in this island, is

not by any means to be fully reduced ; but the skirts, which are covered with a green coat, easily may, being not accretion, or annual growth of moss, like the other.

Now, the landlords are generally so careless as to suffer their tenants to cut their turf in these skirts, as well as the bog adjoined ; whereby there is yearly lost a considerable quantity of land throughout the kingdom, never to be recovered.

But this is not the greatest part of the mischief : for the main bog, although, perhaps, not reducible to natural soil, yet, by continuing large, deep, straight canals through the middle, cleaned at proper times as low as the channel or gravel, would become secure summer-pasture ; the margins might, with great profit and ornament, be filled with quickens, birch, and other trees proper for such a soil, and the canals be convenient for water-carriage of the turf, which is now drawn upon sled-cars, with great expense, difficulty, and loss of time, by reason of the many turf-pits scattered irregularly through the bog, wherein great numbers of cattle are yearly drowned. And it has been, I confess, to me a matter of the greatest vexation, as well as wonder, to think how any landlord could be so absurd as suffer such havoc to be made.

All the acts for encouraging plantations of forest-trees are, I am told, extremely defective ; which, with great submission, must have been owing to a defect of skill in the contrivers of them. In this climate, by the continual blowing of the west-south-west wind, hardly any tree of value will come to perfection that is not planted in groves, except very rarely, and where there is much land-shelter. I have not, indeed, read all the acts ; but, from inquiry, I cannot learn that the planting in

groves is enjoined. And as to the effects of these laws, I have not seen the least, in many hundred miles riding, except about a very few gentlemen's houses, and even those with very little skill or success. In all the rest, the hedges generally miscarry, as well as the larger slender twigs planted upon the tops of ditches, merely for want of common skill and care.

I do not believe that a greater and quicker profit could be made, than by planting large groves of ash a few feet asunder, which in seven years would make the best kind of hop-poles, and grow in the same or less time to a second crop from their roots.

It would likewise be of great use and beauty in our desert scenes, to oblige cottagers to plant ash or elm before their cabins, and round their potatoe-gardens, where cattle either do not or ought not to come to destroy them.

The common objection against all this, drawn from the laziness, the perverseness, or thievish disposition, of the poor native Irish, might be easily answered, by shewing the true reasons for such accusations, and how easily those people may be brought to a less savage manner of life: but my printers have already suffered too much for my speculations. However, supposing the size of a native's understanding just equal to that of a dog or a horse, I have often seen those two animals civilized by rewards, at least as much as by punishments.

It would be a noble achievement to abolish the Irish language in this kingdom, so far at least as to oblige all the natives to speak only English on every occasion of business, in shops, markets, fairs, and other places of dealing: yet I am wholly deceived, if this might not be effectually done in less than half an age, and at a very

trifling expense ; for such I look upon a tax to be of only six thousand pounds a-year, to accomplish so great a work. This would, in a great measure, civilize the most barbarous among them, reconcile them to our customs and manner of living, and reduce great numbers to the national religion, whatever kind may then happen to be established. This method is plain and simple ; and although I am too desponding to produce it, yet I could heartily wish some public thoughts were employed to reduce this uncultivated people from that idle, savage, beastly, thievish manner of life, in which they continue sunk to such a degree, that it is almost impossible for a country gentleman to find a servant of human capacity, or the least tincture of natural honesty, or who does not live among his own tenants in continual fear of having his plantations destroyed, his cattle stolen, and his goods pilfered.

The love, affection, or vanity of living in England, continuing to carry thither so many wealthy families, the consequences thereof, together with the utter loss of all trade, except what is detrimental, which has forced such great numbers of weavers, and others, to seek their bread in foreign countries ; the unhappy practice of stocking such vast quantities of land with sheep and other cattle, which reduces twenty families to one : those events, I say, have exceedingly depopulated this kingdom for several years past. I should heartily wish, therefore, under this miserable dearth of money, that those who are most concerned would think it advisable to save a hundred thousand pounds a-year, which is now sent out of this kingdom, to feed us with corn. There is not an older or more uncontroverted maxim in the politics of all wise nations, than that of encouraging agriculture :

and therefore, to what kind of wisdom a practice so directly contrary among us may be reduced, I am by no means a judge. If labour and people make the true riches of a nation, what must be the issue where one part of the people are forced away, and the other have nothing to do ?

If it should be thought proper by wiser heads, that his Majesty might be applied to in a national way, for giving the kingdom leave to coin halfpence for its own use, I believe no good subject will be under the least apprehension that such a request could meet with refusal, or the least delay. Perhaps we are the only kingdom upon earth, or that ever was or will be upon earth, which did not enjoy that common right of civil society, under the proper inspection of its prince or legislature, to coin money of all usual metals for its own occasions. Every petty prince in Germany, vassal to the Emperor, enjoys this privilege. And I have seen in this kingdom several silver pieces, with the inscription of **CIVITAS WATERFORD, DROGHEDAGH, and other towns.**

THE
 PRESENT MISERABLE STATE
 OF
 IRELAND.

*In a Letter from a Gentleman in Dublin, to his Friend
 S. R. W. in London: Wherein is briefly stated the
 Causes and Heads of all our Woes. Dublin: Printed,
 &c.*

The following Tract is taken from a little miscellaneous 12mo volume of pamphlets, communicated by Mr Hartstonge, relating chiefly to Irish affairs, the property at one time of Thomas Kingsbury, Esq. son of Dr Kingsbury, who attended Swift in his last illness. The letter has neither date nor publisher's name. We are to understand that it was addressed to Sir Robert Walpole; and besides Swift's initials, subjoined to the letter, there is subjoined to the Dublin copy a half length of the Dean in his clerical dress, coarsely cut upon wood, but bearing a striking resemblance to his other portraits. There appears no reason to doubt the authenticity of the treatise, which serves as one piece of evidence, among many others, that Swift, during the short period when there was an opening for friendly intercourse betwixt him and Walpole, availed himself of it, rather to state the grievances of Ireland than to serve his own purposes of advancement. This letter contains the summary of the conference between Swift and the prime minister in April 1726, and of the letter which the Dean wrote to the Earl of Peterborough upon the same occasion. As the representation is couched in an amicable form, the publication must have taken place betwixt Swift's return to Ireland in July 1726, and his final rupture with Walpole on his coming to England in March 1727. Sir Robert Walpole, though in many re-

spects an able and enlightened statesman, certainly entertained the prejudices generally current in England on the mode of managing Ireland. If the Dean had only been solicitous of personal aggrandizement, it might have been readily obtained ; but the minister did not choose to gain his adherence at the expense of sacrificing the system which had hitherto guided England in her conduct towards the sister kingdom, and the patriot of Ireland was not to be won at a cheaper rate than the emancipation of his country. The character of the Drapier seems to be assumed by the letter-writer.

SIR,

BY the last packets I had the favour of yours, and am surprised that you should apply to a person so ill qualified as I am, for a full and impartial account of the state of our trade. I have always lived as retired as possible ; I have carefully avoided the perplexed honour of city-offices ; I have never minded anybody's business but my own ; upon all which accounts, and several others, you might easily have found among my fellow-citizens, persons more capable to resolve the weighty questions you put to me, than I can pretend to be.

But being entirely at leisure, even at this season of the year, when I used to have scarce time sufficient to perform the necessary offices of life, I will endeavour to comply with your requests, cautioning you not implicitly to rely upon what I say, excepting what belongs to that branch of trade in which I am more immediately concerned.

The Irish trade is, at present, in the most deplorable condition that can be imagined ; to remedy it, the causes of its languishment must be inquired into : But as those causes (you may assure yourself) will not be removed, you may look upon it as a thing past hopes of recovery.

The first and greatest shock our trade received, was from an act passed in the reign of King William, in the Parliament of England, prohibiting the exportation of wool manufactured in Ireland. An act (as the event plainly shews) fuller of greediness than good policy; an act as beneficial to France and Spain, as it has been destructive to England and Ireland. At the passing of this fatal act, the condition of our trade was glorious and flourishing, though no way interfering with the English; we made no broad-cloths above 6s. per yard; coarse druggets, bays and shalloons, worsted damasks, strong draught works, slight half-works, and gaudy stuffs, were the only product of our looms: these were partly consumed by the meanest of our people, and partly sent to the northern nations, from which we had in exchange, timber, iron, hemp, flax, pitch, tar, and hard dollars. At the time the current money of Ireland was foreign silver, a man could hardly receive 100*l.*, without finding the coin of all the northern powers, and every prince of the empire among it. This money was returned into England for fine cloths, silks, &c. for our own wear, for rents, for coals, for hardware, and all other English manufactures, and, in a great measure, supplied the London merchants with foreign silver for exportation.

The repeated clamours of the English weavers produced this act, so destructive to themselves and us. They looked with envious eyes upon our prosperity, and complained of being undersold by us in those commodities, which they themselves did not deal in. At their instances the act was passed, and we lost our profitable northern trade. Have they got it? No, surely, you have found they have ever since declined in the trade they so happily possessed; you shall find (if I am rightly inform-

ed) towns without one loom in them, which subsisted entirely upon the woollen manufactory before the passing of this unhappy bill; and I will try if I can give the true reasons for the decay of their trade, and our calamities.

Three parts in four of the inhabitants of that district of the town where I dwell were English manufacturers, whom either misfortunes in trade, little petty debts, contracted through idleness, or the pressures of a numerous family, had driven into our cheap country: These were employed in working up our coarse wool, while the finest was sent into England. Several of these had taken the children of the native Irish apprentices to them, who being humbled by the forfeiture of upward of three millions by the Revolution, were obliged to stoop to a mechanic industry. Upon the passing of this bill, we were obliged to dismiss thousands of these people from our service. Those who had settled their affairs returned home, and overstocked England with workmen; those whose debts were unsatisfied went to France, Spain, and the Netherlands, where they met with good encouragement, whereby the natives, having got a firm footing in the trade, being acute fellows, soon became as good workmen as any we have, and supply the foreign manufactories with a constant recruit of artizans; our island lying much more under pasture than any in Europe. The foreigners (notwithstanding all the restrictions the English Parliament has bound us up with) are furnished with the greatest quantity of our choicest wool. I need not tell you, sir, that a custom-house oath is held as little sacred here as in England, or that it is common for masters of vessels to swear themselves bound for one of the English wool ports, and unload in France or Spain. By this means the trade in those parts is, in a great measure,

destroyed, and we were obliged to try our hands at finer works, having only our home consumption to depend upon ; and, I can assure you, we have, in several kinds of narrow goods, even exceeded the English, and I believe we shall, in a few years more, be able to equal them in broad cloths ; but this you may depend upon, that scarce the tenth part of English goods are now imported, of what used to be before the famous act.

The only manufactured wares we are allowed to export, are linen cloth and linen yarn, which are marketable only in England ; the rest of our commodities are wool, restrained to England, and raw hides, skins, tallow, beef, and butter. Now, these are things for which the northern nations have no occasion ; we are therefore obliged, instead of carrying woollen goods to their markets, and bringing home money, to purchase their commodities.

In France, Spain, and Portugal, our wares are more valuable, though it must be owned, our fraudulent trade in wool is the best branch of our commerce ; from hence we get wines, brandy, and fruit, very cheap, and in great perfection ; so that though England has constrained us to be poor, they have given us leave to be merry. From these countries we bring home moydores, pistoles, and louisdores, without which we should scarce have a penny to turn upon.

To England we are allowed to send nothing but linen cloth, yarn, raw hides, skins, tallow, and wool. From thence we have coals, for which we always pay ready money, India goods, English woollen and silks, tobacco, hardware, earthenware, salt, and several other commodities. Our exportations to England are very much overbalanced by our importations ; so that the course of ex-

change is generally too high, and people choose rather to make their remittances to England in specie, than by a bill, and our nation is perpetually drained of its little running cash.

Another cause of the decay of trade, scarcity of money, and swelling of exchange, is the unnatural affectation of our gentry to reside in and about London. Their rents are remitted to them, and spent there. The countryman wants employment from them; the country shopkeeper wants their custom. For this reason he can't pay his Dublin correspondent readily, nor take off a great quantity of his wares. Therefore, the Dublin merchant can't employ the artizan, nor keep up his credit in foreign markets.

I have discoursed some of these gentlemen, persons esteemed for good sense, and demanded a reason for this, their so unaccountable proceeding,—expensive to them for the present, ruinous to their country, and destructive to the future value of their estates,—and find all their answers summed up under three heads, curiosity, pleasure, and loyalty to King George. The two first excuses deserve no answer; let us try the validity of the third. Would not loyalty be much better expressed by gentlemen staying in their respective counties, influencing their dependents by their examples, saving their own wealth, and letting their neighbours profit by their necessary expenses, thereby keeping them from misery, and its unavoidable consequence, discontent? Or is it better to flock to London, be lost in a crowd, kiss the King's hand, and take a view of the royal family? The seeing of the royal house may animate their zeal for it; but other advantages I know not. What employment have any of our gentlemen got by their attendance at Court,

to make up to them their expenses? Why, about forty of them have been created peers, and a little less than a hundred of them baronets and knights. For these excellent advantages, thousands of our gentry have squeezed their tenants, impoverished the trader, and impaired their own fortunes!

Another great calamity, is the exorbitant raising of the rents of lands. Upon the determination of all leases made before the year 1690, a gentleman thinks he has but indifferently improved his estate if he has only doubled his rent-roll. Farms are screwed up to a rack-rent,—leases granted but for a small term of years,—tenants tied down to hard conditions, and discouraged from cultivating the lands they occupy to the best advantage, by the certainty they have of the rent being raised, on the expiration of their lease, proportionably to the improvements they shall make. Thus is honest industry restrained; the farmer is a slave to his landlord; 'tis well if he can cover his family with a coarse home-spun frieze. The artizan has little dealings with him; yet he is obliged to take his provisions from him at an extravagant price, otherwise the farmer cannot pay his rent.

The proprietors of lands keep great part of them in their own hands for sheep-pasture; and there are thousands of poor wretches who think themselves blessed, if they can obtain a hut worse than the squire's dog-kennel, and an acre of ground for a potatoe-plantation, on condition of being as very slaves as any in America. What can be more deplorable, than to behold wretches starving in the midst of plenty!

We are apt to charge the Irish with laziness, because we seldom find them employed; but then we don't consider they have nothing to do. Sir William Temple, in

his excellent remarks on the United Provinces, inquires, why Holland, which has the fewest and worst ports and commodities of any nation in Europe, should abound in trade, and Ireland, which has the most and best of both, should have none? This great man attributes this surprising accident to the natural aversion man has for labour; who will not be persuaded to toil and fatigue himself for the superfluities of life throughout the week, when he may provide himself with all necessary subsistence by the labour of a day or two. But, with due submission to Sir William's profound judgment, the want of trade with us is rather owing to the cruel restraints we lie under, than to any disqualification whatsoever in our inhabitants.

I have not, sir, for these thirty years past, since I was concerned in trade, (the greatest part of which time distresses have been flowing in upon us,) ever observed them to swell so suddenly to such a height as they have done within these few months. Our present calamities are not to be represented; you can have no notion of them without beholding them. Numbers of miserable objects crowd our doors, begging us to take their wares at any price, to prevent their families from immediate starving. We cannot part with our money to them, both because we know not when we shall have vent for their goods; and, as there are no debts paid, we are afraid of reducing ourselves to their lamentable circumstances. The dismal time of trade we had during Marr's Troubles in Scotland, are looked upon as happy days when compared with the present.

I need not tell you, sir, that this griping want, this dismal poverty, this additional woe, must be put to the accursed stocks, which have desolated our country more

effectually than England. Stockjobbing was a kind of traffic we were utterly unacquainted with. We went late to the South Sea market, and bore a great share in the losses of it, without having tasted any of its profits.

If many in England have been ruined by stocks, some have been advanced. The English have a free and open trade to repair their losses; but, above all, a wise, vigilant, and uncorrupted Parliament and ministry, strenuously endeavouring to restore public trade to its former happy state. Whilst we, having lost the greatest part of our cash, without any probability of its returning, must despair of retrieving our losses by trade, and have before our eyes the dismal prospect of universal poverty and desolation.

I believe, sir, you are by this time heartily tired with this indigested letter, and are firmly persuaded of the truth of what I said in the beginning of it, that you had much better have imposed this task on some of our citizens of greater abilities. But perhaps, sir, such a letter as this may be, for the singularity of it, entertaining to you, who correspond with the politest and most learned men in Europe. But I am satisfied you will excuse its want of exactness and perspicuity, when you consider my education, my being unaccustomed to writings of this nature, and, above all, those calamitous objects which constantly surround us, sufficient to disturb the clearest imagination, and the soundest judgment.

Whatever cause I have given you, by this letter, to think worse of my sense and judgment, I fancy I have given you a manifest proof that I am, sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

J. S.

TEN REASONS FOR REPEALING THE TEST ACT.

This Tract is from a rare broadside copy. It appears to be written by the Dean, and the arguments correspond with those he uses elsewhere.

1. BECAUSE the Presbyterians are people of such great interest in this kingdom, that there are not above ten of their persuasion in the House of Commons, and but one in the House of Lords; though they are not obliged to take the sacrament in the Established Church to qualify them to be members of either House.

2. Because those of the Established Church of this kingdom are so disaffected to the King, that not one of them worth mentioning, except the late Duke of Ormond, has been concerned in the rebellion; and that our Parliament, though there be so few Presbyterians, has, upon all occasions, proved its loyalty to King George, and has readily agreed to and enacted what might support his government.

3. Because very few of the Presbyterians have lost an employment worth L. 20 per annum, for not qualifying themselves according to the test act; nor will they accept of a militia commission, though they do of one in the army.

4. Because, if they are not in the militia and other places of trust, the Pretender and his adherents will destroy us; when he has no one to support him but the King of Spain; when King George is at a good understanding with Sweden, Prussia, and Denmark; and when he has made the best alliances in Christendom. When the Emperor, King of Great Britain, the French King, the King of Sardinia, are all in the quadruple alliance against the Spaniard, his upstart cardinal, and the Pretender; when bloody plots against Great Britain and France are blown up; when the Spanish fleet is quite dispersed; when the French army is overrunning Spain; and when the rebels in Scotland are cut off.

5. The test clause should be repealed, because it is a defence against the reformation the Presbyterians long since promised the churches of England and Ireland, viz. "We, noblemen, barons, knights, gentlemen, citizens, burgesses, ministers of the gospel, commons of all sorts in the kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, &c.* each one of us for himself, with our hands lifted up to the most high God, do swear, first, That we shall sincerely, really, and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour, in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government. Secondly, That we shall in like manner, without respect of persons, endeavour the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy; that is, church-government by archbishops, their chancellors, and commissaries, deans, deacons, and chapters, archdeacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy.

* Vide Confession of Faith, p. 304, 305.

6. Because the Presbyterian church-government may be independent of the state. The Lord Jesus is King and Head of his Church;* hath therein appointed a government, in the hands of church-officers, distinct from the civil magistrate. As magistrates may lawfully call a synod of ministers to consult and advise with about matters of religion; so, if magistrates be open enemies to the church, the ministers of Christ of themselves, by virtue of their office, or they with other fit persons, upon delegation from their churches, may meet together in such assemblies.†

7. Because they have not the free use of their religion, when they disdain a toleration.

8. Because they have so much charity for Episcopacy, as to account it iniquitous. The address of the General Assembly to the Duke of Queensberry in the late reign says, that to tolerate the Episcopal clergy in Scotland would be to establish iniquity by a law.

9. Because repealing the test clause will probably disoblige ten of his Majesty's good subjects, for one it can oblige.

10. Because, if the test clause be repealed, the Presbyterians may with the better grace get into employments, and the easier worm out those of the Established Church.

* Confession of Faith, p. 87.

† Ibid. p. 88, 89.

TWO LETTERS

TO THE

PUBLISHER OF THE DUBLIN WEEKLY JOURNAL.

THE following Tracts, the humour and tendency of which seem to ascertain their authenticity, are now, for the first time, received into a collection of Swift's Works. Several of the Dean's lighter pieces and verses, as also three letters on the subject of Irish coals, appear in the paper from which the following fugitive pieces have been extracted. The parallel between a poem and a house, resembles, in all respects, the poem on Vanburgh's house.

Saturday, September 14, 1728.

To the Publisher of the Dublin Weekly Journal.

Nemo in sese tentat descendere.—PERS.

SIR,

I SAT down the other day to take myself into consideration; thinking it an odd thing, that I should cast my eyes so much abroad to make discoveries of other people, and should never care or bethink what I myself was doing at home. Upon inquiry, I found *self-reflection* to be a very disagreeable thing. I was ever very well with myself upon the whole; but, when I came to this piece-work, I saw so many faults and flaws, so many things wanting, and so many to be mended, that I did not

know where to begin, or what to say, but grew prodigiously sick of the subject. In fine, I became thoroughly chagrined and out of humour; till, after much musing, I most manfully came to a conclusion, and so softened up my long run of questions and answers into this issue:—Well, I care not though I han't ten thousand per annum; yet I am a projector, and expect twice this sum very soon. Well, what if I an't a minister of state? I am a poet;—and straight to pen, ink, and paper, I betook me; and, with these two single considerations, I outbalanced the whole posse of articles that weighed just now against me.

I laid the foundation of an hundred and fifty poems, odes, satires, and ballads. I compared poetry and building together, as you will see it done in my parallel in this paper. I went on in the manner immediately following, and drew out the proposals, hereafter specified, for raising L. 54,674, 12s. in two years. I grew well with myself in half an hour, was as rich as a Jew, and as great as a lord. I despised everybody that could not write and make songs. I put on my best wig, coat, and best laced shirt; and away I went to Lucas's, to laugh at all the prig puppies that could not speak Spanish.

Before I came to this dernier, (amongst a million) I remember the few following observations occurred to me: As that a poet and projector are very near a-kin; the same fire and spirit, the same invention, penetration, and forecast being required to frame a project and a poem, especially projects of architecture and building; to both which I shall speak, and shew their near resemblance by and by. For instance, you must, both in poetry and projects, first lay your plan and ground-work; one part must precede and draw on, and answer another; you

must not only frame the main body, and shell or hull in one, and the drama or design in the other ; but you must contrive passages, wings, out-houses, colonnades, porches, &c. which in poetry answer proemiums, digressions, parentheses, episodes, incidents, perorations, conclusions, prefaces, and indexes : Then the fable of a poem, or the ground-work of a project, must be equally probable, not too much exceeding life, taken from nature, or something very like nature. In the execution of both, you must grow from chaos and darkness, to the little glimmerings of existence first, and then proceed to more lightsome appearances afterwards, keeping always the tip-top splendour and sublime in view, being very confident of the success of the undertaking, sparing no pains, nor money if you have it, to push the performance ; cursing the diffidence and impatience of a certain sort of people of the quiet cast of mind, never being discouraged at any unkind muse or cross-grained deity that obstructs the pululation of the *durum vegetaturum*, or who will not yet suffer the poem to become correct and complete ; so that one may immediately say of the author,

Os populi meruisse, et cedro digna locutum.

And if at last the project miscarries, and the poem be damned, you are to curse fortune, and damn a tasteless, unbelieving world ; you are to drink a bottle of port after a quart of porter, and to begin a new design next morning, *et sic, in circulo ad infinitum*, till fame and fortune court you, or till you are philosopher enough to despise them, which is all one, and then die ; but be sure you never forgive the senseless and ungrateful town.
Probatum est.

Now, before I proceed, I must declare that I pique myself mightily upon the laudable professions which I

treat of; and I do freely acknowledge and own, however the severe sort may sneer at me for it, that I find more self-complacency and joy of mind from my professions of poetry and project-hunting, than from my knight-hood, though it be the very mirror and glory of all knight-hood, than from my learning, my birth, my little fortune and skill in dress, or my making love, or from any other advantage of mine over the herd of men; and to cut down the *cool ones* all at once, I hereby loudly affirm, that the joy of mind arising from one's being conscious that he is a poet, exceeds all other advantages of mind, body, and fortune whatever.

In short, I'll out with the secret:—Depend on't, gentlemen, that poetry is meat, drink, clothes, washing, and lodging, and I know it. And I appeal for the truth on't to every hackney author, in prose as well as verse, in town. You'll allow, I believe, all happiness to consist in imagination, that is, in men's way of thinking themselves to be happy or not; *crede quod habes, et habes*. Now, I hope there is nobody that will dispute the right of imagination with a poet, *Ergo*—on which foundation, I never fail to argue thus with myself: My lord has disappointed me, true; d—n him, I have more sense than he; he can't take my wit and my pen from me, and good sense and wit are a fortune at all times. What though he makes me hate him for a thousand reasons, he shan't, he can't, put me out of conceit with myself—d—n him, I made two lines to-day of more worth and value than him, and his, and all that belong to him.

Sed Vatem egregium! Cui non sit publica vena,
 Qui nihil expositum soleat deducere, nec qui
 Communi feriat carmen triviale monetâ!
 Huuc! Qualem nequeo monstrare, et sentio tantùm.

Excellent, by my s—l. *Sentio tantum!* and so, hang your lords and squires, your coaches, and equipages.

Ad incubatum, Sir James; fear not the *limæ labor et mora*; write, *quod demorsos sapit ungues*, and then you are happy, you are rich; Apollo's your patron, and the muses, and the fawns, and old *Silenus, et Bacchus Pater*, will crown you with joy, and your head will never ache, and your belly will never croak with the colic. Consider this, you wise ones, and believe it to be true:

Bacchum in remotis carmina rupibus

Vidi docentem; credite, posteri.

Believe me, I say, and consider what follows as a proof of it.

If about three I find the company slink off, and that I am left alone in the green, I retire to a bench, where I pull out Virgil, and read the description of Elysium till five, contemplating how the shades are entertained below with philosophy, and how they live on pure ether; amidst groves and rivulets; this done, I pay a visit to my lady—drink green tea, and to prevent the too searching quality of that piercing fluid, I call for a thin slice or two of bread and butter, and then think no more of dinner than dulness; dinner's over for that day. If at night I am deserted the same way, at the playhouse or Lucas's, I retire; solitude is the blessedest state in the world; who would bear the noise and impertinency of fops and fools? So I read a little philosophy first, then some poetry, or a little Spanish prose, and never awake out of my studies till all the house is asleep; and then it's too late to think of sending to the cook's, or going to a tavern, and so truly I e'en go to bed. I am a perfect master of the art of sleeping, and take it to be a very

nourishing thing. If I am served the same way the second day, I amuse my bowels with my own works, for which, I own, I never do want bowels. If the sun shines not more favourable the third day, I write; invention takes off all attention to everything but itself; when my brain is full, my belly is never empty; nor do I care who dines or sups, if I make and like my own verses: By wanting provisions that day, I generally provide for many days, in some epistle or dedication, and maybe I have provided that, as I shall live well, so I shall never die; and, that night I dream of whole markets of meat, and whole rivers of wine.

N. B. A little bread, ale, and porter, must be supposed each day in some lucid interval.

The brain being drained,—on the fourth day I begin to have some little compassion for my virtuous and forbearing guts: Hang it, says I, one cannot study and labour always—I will e'en go and divert my lord—he'll rejoice to see me—I'll say my best things—so—“*sans ceremony*, my lord, I know the beaux esprits are always at home with your lordship—I'gad, I am in the best humour in the world, my lord—my spirits are all up, my lord—I have finish'd an incomparable piece, my lord,—and I don't know anybody, my lord, that relishes, and therefore deserves to have good things said to him more than your lordship, my lord;”—so, down I sit, and eat and drink like a devil.

But, pray excuse me, gentlemen, for this digression; digression seems to be the very life and soul of writing, and therefore I here present you with the Parallel I promised you just now, between a book and a house, and between building, projecting, and writing.

TWO LETTERS OF A PROJECTOR.

Saturday, September 21, 1728.

TO THE

PUBLISHER OF THE DUBLIN WEEKLY JOURNAL.

Nemo in sese tentat descendere.—PERS.

CONTINUATION OF THE FORMER.

SIR,

IN my last I promised you a PARALLEL between a book and a house, and between building, projecting, and writing. As also, a proposal for raising a sum not exceeding L.54,674, 12s. in two years.

THE PARALLEL.

Cover of the book—top of the house. Blank leaves—avenue. Half title-page—court-yard and wall. Whole title-page—front of the house. Dedication—porter, who tells lies, and flatters all day long, for the good of the family, but to the utter abuse of the person he speaks to. Preface—hall, wherein are contained guns, pikes, and bows, for the defence of the premises. Contents—the mistress of the family. Introduction—the stair-case. Bulk of the book—the master of the house and furni-

ture. Ornaments—trophies, figures, similies, &c. Index—the house of office.

I might go on and shew, how particular sorts of writing resemble particular sorts of building, and that an epic poem is like a palace, and the panegyric its painted walls: That school divinity is like a church, where the terms of art, like the seats and pulpit, lie always in the same situation, and may be made use of very aptly to different purposes, according to the present possessors and occupiers, and serve the end of the heterodox at one time, and orthodox at another: That the law is like our ancestors' wooden houses, with wooden furniture, where you are continually offended with knots and hurt with flaws, and are very often fired out of all you have; that mathematics resemble a well-built arch; logic a castle; and romances, castles in the air; divinity is like St Paul's church at London, that will never be finished, nor be liked by everybody, and that will be always decaying, repairing, and mending: Sophistry is a dark entry, and irony a vault; digression a drawing-room, history a gallery, essays a dining-room, and sermons a bed-chamber: Poetry may be compared to Gresham College, where there is a variety of gewgaws and rarities, which when you have seen, you come away, but are neither the better, wiser, or richer, for them.

There are many pieces of writing like one famous building in this city. Heraldry is bedlam; church controversy, bedlam; law terms of art, bedlam; physic-terms, bedlam; journals, bedlam; advertisements, bedlam; modern political tracts, bedlam. I might, I say, pursue this subject, had I a mind, and shew that the Chillingworth and Hoadleian style and writings are the true and ancient Tuscan dialects, simple, well-concerted,

and put together ; beautiful enough, and what will last as long as the sun shines by means of their proportion ; and that they who write in defence of impositions and constraint of opinions, raise their worth in the right Gothic order, far remote from the ancient proportions and ornaments of buildings, with a pillar here of a vast massy form, and there another as slender as a pole, having capitals without any certain dimensions, and carved with thorny leaves of thistles, coleworts, and bear's-foot ; so that to see 'em or touch 'em offends you ; but the comfort is, they will not last long.

I might go through the Doric, the Ionic, the Corinthian, the Composite, and add the Attic order also, and shew you the several authors and their writings that have resemblance to them ; but I am not inclined to do it at this time, nor to shew you the resemblance that several styles and kinds of writing have to the inside and furniture of buildings, whether palaces, private houses, lodges, or public buildings ; as, that history puts one in mind of the house-keeper and nurse, and sometimes the good-woman of the house ; that poetry is the china-ware, ethics, the looking-glasses ; common-place books, p——g-p-ts, commentaries, candles in dark lanterns, which neither see themselves, nor let anything else be seen : that an epic poem is a feast ; translations, hashes ; miscellanies, olios ; that odes are tarts and cheese-cakes ; dedications, whip syllabubs ; epistles, pot-luck ; lampoons, table-talk ; satires, tea-tables ; and polyanthus, chamber-maids, that do all the business of the house ; —and a thousand more, which some time or other I will record in this my never-dying registry ; instead of which, for the present, take what follows :

A LIST OF MY PROPOSALS FOR RAISING A SUM NOT
EXCEEDING L.54,674, 12s. IN TWO YEARS.

For my new comedy this winter,		
The first third night,	L.500	0 0
The second third night,	150	0 0
The third third night,	150	0 0
From the printer,	105	0 0
For the dedication,	105	0 0
Ditto for my tragedy next winter,	1010	0 0
For my two farces each winter,	100	0 0
In fame for them, placed to account as value received,	5000	0 0
For fifty-two papers to be sent, as the humour bites, to the printer, once a fortnight,	54	12 0
For casual pamphlets, at a moderate computation, from the booksellers,	100	0 0
From the government for ditto,	200	0 0
From ditto in fame,	100	0 0
For answering Mist's Journal,	200	0 0
For panegyrics on four certain lords,	200	0 0
For casual odes, familiar epistles, lampoons, satires, dedications, loose let- ters and verses, anagrams, mottos for rings and sign-posts, stating cases, draw- ing petitions, translating, correcting, giving hints, lending a thought, alter- ing sentences, adding paragraphs; and innumerable deles, modestly speaking,	500	0 0
Hush-money of several sorts,	200	0 0
Carried forward,	L.8674	12 0

Brought over,	L.8674	12	0
For a scheme to prevent running of goods,	5000	0	0
From the government for ways and means for two years,	10,000	0	0
From the owner of the lamps, for lessening their number, by inventing one large one, which, set on a pole thirty feet high, in the middle, shall enlighten every the least part of the largest street in town, so that one may read Greek by it, and by inventing an asbestenous phosphor to save the expense of oil, men's labour, &c. which phosphor may remain in the lamp without being tempered or attended, as long as the lamp holds together; and which lamps, therefore, need never be removed; and which phosphor, like the stars, will always shine when the sun disappears; for this invention, L.200 per annum for ever, which, at 30 years' purchase, comes to	6000	0	0
For inventing the perpetual motion,	5000	0	0
For discovering the æquator stone, which points the needle east and west,	20,000	0	0
In all	L.54,674	12	0

IMPERFECT PROJECTS.

- To make salt water fresh.
- To secure ships from sinking.
- To restore Roman eloquence, and love of our country.

To convert pagans.

To make all Christians of one mind.

To revive masquerades.

To calculate nativities.

To break Hawkins and his agents, by abolishing the several corporations of beggars, whores, pick-pockets, and rapparees.

To prevent wrinkles in any part of the body or the face.

To prevent both sexes from ever being old women.

A preservative against the involuntary loss of a maidenhead.

But pray excuse haste, gentlemen, you shall soon hear from me more fully on all these subjects. In the mean time, I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

W. B.

LETTERS UPON THE USE OF IRISH COAL.

THE following three letters are extracted from the Dublin Weekly Journal, a paper in which Swift's fugitive pieces sometimes appeared. They were written to press upon the Irish people the advantage of supplying themselves with fuel from their own mines, a point which Swift had greatly at heart, and which he often touches upon in his other tracts intended for the improvement of Ireland. The two first letters bear the well-known initials of M. B., and in the third, these letters, and the experiments which they announce, are directly ascribed to the Drapier, a liberty which none durst at that time have assumed without due authority. The composition, though very careless, and still more defaced by typographical blunders, retains strong marks of the Dean's peculiar style. The letters are for the first time collected with his works.

Saturday, August 9, 1729.

TO THE PUBLISHER OF THE DUBLIN WEEKLY JOURNAL.

Who is so blind as he—
That can—but will not see.

SIR,

As I take the following case to be of service to the kingdom in general, as well as this city in particular, I look upon it as a duty incumbent on you to publish it

in your paper. I shall make no other apology, but subscribe myself a dear friend to my country, and

Yours, &c.

S. D. H.

To all the Housekeepers of the City of Dublin: The Case of many thousand poor Inhabitants of this City: In a Letter to a very worthy Member of Parliament, &c.

Dublin, August 4, 1729.

SIR,

HAVING some time ago laid before your house the case of many thousand poor families and housekeepers of the city of Dublin, concerning the extravagant rates of coals in this city, and meeting with some success, makes me now reassume this second trouble, which none but those who were eye-witnesses to the lamentable state and condition of the poor, all this last hard winter, can give an exact account of. In a word, the general cry throughout this city was cold and hunger.

Looking back into the journals of your House, last session, and the state of the accounts, I find a considerable sum of money (no less than four thousand pounds) allowed for the encouragement of Irish coals, i. e. for laying in a sufficient stock of our own coals to lower the extravagant price of the Whitehaven coal, &c. which coal was no less than 30s. per ton this last winter, when the Irish coals, (if any could have been spared or kept in stock till winter,) by our new company of adventurers, were sold at 14s. and 15s. per ton.

The mismanagement thereof, the misapplication of

that fund, the disadvantageous, hazardous situation of this new projected port, the embezzlement of both the money and coals, I shall treat of in a more particular manner hereafter.

When the city was starving all the last winter for want of coals, there was not one barrel of Irish coal to be had at any rate; and, for want of a stock, the Whitehaven colliers imposed upon us what rates they pleased.

It is to be observed, that all, or a great part of the Irish coals imported, and to be laid up for the winter season, was sold out in summer to the barracks, the custom-house, and the glass-house.

The barracks.—The computation, at so many bushels of coal to a room, according to the consumption and lasting of Whitehaven coal, which was near one-third less to the poor soldier in his firing, and the slack useless.

The custom-house.—The commissioners and officers having a hank upon the Whitehaven owners, they dare not impose upon them in the price of their coals, so that they might have been spared in selling out of the public stock, for the commissioners would have been content to have a stock left for the relief of the poor in winter; but in this, as in all other cases, the public and the poor are always the last to be served.

As I conceive such a stock ought not to be delivered out till the height of winter, and to be sold out in small parcels, as half a barrel, or barrel at most, at any one time, still to keep a stock for the relief of the poor, and to keep down any exaction, or exorbitant price, laid upon coals.

As to the glass-house, The undertakers in the one, and the adventurers in the other, are most of them join-

ed in company, and these coals consumed in blowing bottles.

A new experiment in finding the Vacuum.

These bottle-makers, like the children, play with soap and water, blowing up bottles in a sun-shine day, makes various fine colours while it lasts, and, like their pots hitherto, both prove alike to be—a bubble.

I am no way for discouraging the design, though as yet, it has proved all in vain, but entirely against lessening the stock (designed so to be reserved for the relief of the poor, &c.) upon any account whatever.

And I find the glass-house too near to the coal-yard and to the city. As to the latter, I remember two dreadful fires, occasioned by glass-houses within this city.

Now that I am upon this subject of fire and smoke, I must mention that quarter of the town, where I have seen such a train of coaches, the ladies taking a tour to the Strand, and all this gaiety at once eclipsed (like the chariot of the sun) by a dark thick cloud of smoke. This glass-house has been complained of as an exceeding great nuisance in that neighbourhood, and by the several inhabitants thereabouts; but as the design is good, let them try their hand once more, until 'tis brought to some perfection, and when once a right method is found, it will be encouragement to proceed further therein, and carry on the work in some remote part of the town.

As to the keeping a Stock of Coals.

One objection to our Irish coal, if kept for any time, is, that the sulphureous matter of the coal (when dug up

and torn out of its natural bed) evaporates or exhales by the sun and air, and natural causes are offered ; but we know that a coal, though it may lose some of the outward, whether sulphureous or bituminous, matter, yet the inside of the coal cannot be penetrated, or made worse, either by the sun, air, water, or any cause whatsoever, in one season or two.

And how easy is all this remedied, at a little expense, when a thousand of furzes, with a little dirty stable litter on it, will cover twenty thousand tons of coals.

And the same furzes may be made use of again, as you break into the body and bulk of your stock of coals, with little or no cost.

I come now to lay before you the great advantage of a coal that we have within ourselves, in our own province, that exceeds any other coal whatsoever, that is, the **Kilkenny** coal. I appeal to all those that make use of that coal, and to all such as ever have been in that country, for a just report.

What will neighbouring nations, what will posterity say of us, that for so great a series of time as these collieries have been found out, the use of so great a blessing as this is should have been so long neglected? They may truly say, an ignorant, indolent, cursed, slothful people :—As, when we find a good mine, we don't know how to make use of it.

Nature affords us navigable rivers near these collieries, the **Barrow**, upper and lower, which falls into **Ross**, **Waterford**, and other ports : And when once our neighbouring kingdom can get a trial, finding the value of this coal for several uses, they will be glad, at any rate, to purchase that which we ourselves have foolishly neglected so long a time. What hardships have we under-

gone ! What immense sums have been taken out of this kingdom ! laid out for a much worse coal ; the value so much inferior to this of the Kilkenny, that there is no manner of comparison in goodness, for heat and duration.

This is the great article in draining the money out of the kingdom, without any the least return : This it is that makes silver so scarce ; these colliers taking no other money over but that specie alone.

It is objected, the difficulty in lighting this coal. Do the people in that county make any difficulty in lighting their fires ? and is turf so scarce here, that you will want a fire, for want of turf to light it ? Time and experience will tell the contrary.

In order to make your fire burn bright and clear, 'tis no more than to add a bar or two to the bottom of your grate, to give it more air, and you may have a constant, lasting, good fire, once you are accustomed to it, it will answer all the ends you propose.

As to any suffocating smell in this coal, and making people drowsy, those that are conversant with it deny the assertion, and say it is the violent heat in this, more than in any other coal, which may be very easily qualified :

And a little turf, or any small quantity of coal mixt with it, removes all objections that can be made ; as, the old saying, we are still more nice than wise.

Are there any people in this kingdom so free from asthmas as in the county of Kilkenny ? Not only the inhabitants, but all others that resort thither, can testify, and much it is owing to their fire, free from smoke. The constant thick clouds of smoke that hang over Dublin are so nauseous, the air so corrupted, that the smell of

the smoke is perceptible some miles off, insomuch, that few or none ever escape without some disorder.

Who is there here that can't see the cause, and has not felt the effect? None but those that are inured to this fire and smoke, that has so intoxicated their brains, that they are void of all their senses, and in such a lethargy, they will not seek relief.

The physicians in Dublin make it their constant practice to remove their patients to some purer air, near the suburbs, out of the smoke of the city, which in winter is so thick, and cloudy enough to stifle men and beasts, so great an influence, that it affects even the blossom and bloom of the flowers in the spring.

And the chief cause of the bad air about Dublin proceeds from the great quantity of smoke in the coals used here; the best proof that can be, by your senses in seeing and smelling.

I am very well informed and assured, that the common rate of the Kilkenny coal, at the pits, is sixteen pence the stand; the stand is five hundred, one quarter weight; that four stand makes one ton one hundred weight; and one ton of this coal at the pit comes to about a crown piece, which, with the further charge by water-carriage, &c. cannot exceed in the whole more than ten or twelve shillings per ton in Dublin, for Kilkenny coal; when the same coal, by land-carriage to this town, commonly costs about twenty shillings per ton in Dublin market, and that only to be had in the summer season. Is there no distinction to be made, when one ton of this coal will outlast three ton of any other coal? Have you no thought now, (after such dear-bought experience these many years,) of keeping what little money you have

to circulate in your own kingdom, and lay it out among one another? O CIVES, CIVES, &c.

I have been very well assured, that several of the Whitehaven owners have combined together, and have declared, that this next winter they resolve to starve you out and out, by raising their coals to forty shillings a ton, on account of the usage they met with from the Lord Mayor the last winter; then necessity will compel you to what has now been offered.

As to the new projected port—in winter it will avail little or nothing; besides the great loss to the buyer in the slack of this coal, and many other disadvantages to all but the proprietors and undertakers. The cause of lashing out in this satirical manner proceeds not from any fondness for variety, but a just flight of passion, that people should be so blind and infatuated, in point of their own interest and welfare; but no inducement can swerve me from the interest of my country. I need not, nay, cannot urge it further; and, like what a worthy prelate said upon the like occasion, for the good of his country,—*Liberavi animam meam*,—I have done my duty, and discharged my conscience. I cannot find any but who will be pleased, except money-changers and chimney-sweepers.

Even most of the bankers, (those worthy members of the commonwealth,) will be for it, because they can get no exchange to and fro to Whitehaven.

Must I at last (Stewart-like) address myself to the ladies, (too hard a task for an old man to undertake with pleasure,) therefore I cannot hold long upon the subject.

The ladies may lay aside their washes, &c. that destroy the complexion. This preserves it, and renders the

Kilkenny beauty both pure and lasting as the Kilkenny marble.

Sir, as I have exceeded the bounds of a letter, I refer the conclusion of this to your next. And am, for the present, my country's

Most humble, &c.

M. B.

SECOND LETTER.

Saturday, August 16, 1729.

TO THE

PUBLISHER OF THE DUBLIN WEEKLY JOURNAL.

Who is so blind, as he—
That can—but will not see.

SIR,

I HAVE in your last given you a small sketch, hoping, the next session, you will propose, encourage, and improve the method already taken by our masters and owners of ships, in importing Kilkenny coal to this city, for immediate relief; that we may have a constant supply of coals to this city; and that a competent stock may be laid in for the relief of the poor.

I pray and wish, (for I have nothing more at heart, no other view, than the service of the public,) that this scheme in particular serving the city of Dublin, and the kingdom in general, may and will be improved.—For my part, I can think of no other surer way than the encouragement of importing the coals aforesaid.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

M. B.

N. B.—The reason of writing and communicating this affair, so early before the session, is that no time should be lost ; that now in summer the coals may be dug up, (I mean in great quantities) and drawn from the pits to the water side.

Now the way is paved, and a clear road, without any let or trouble in bringing them.

This will employ the poor, and a great many hands, and this, this is the time, for encouraging and carrying on the work, as this city, the head of this weak, poor, feeble nation, is grown so monstrous great! (a head too big for the body,) so in proportion it will require and take an exceeding great quantity of coals to serve it with firing.

But when you consider the difference, as I shall hereafter shew and demonstrate the lasting of this coal, that in a great measure will lessen the quantity of coals to supply and answer this great call, and save you above one-third in the charge of your firing. It will save immense sums that are now drawn from you every year by the Whitehaven and other colliers, in this so great an article and charge of firing, and when the poorer sort cannot lay in a stock in the proper season. Upon many accounts, as embargos, and many other accidents, the rates and price of coals continually advance and grow more and more. The making use of your own fuel, of what sort soever, it is like the poor man's case, who, when he has a garden of his own, well planted, and can dig up his own potatoes, can have no occasion then to buy potatoes from his neighbours.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since I received this former account, I sent for one

hundred weight of Kilkenny coal, which cost a shilling, and weighed one quarter of the hundred of this coal, one quarter of the Whitehaven, and a quarter of a hundred of the Irish coal,—so ordered, for an experiment or trial, three separate fires to be made. The latter consumed away very swift, in a blaze, lasted but between two and three hours, (from the time the fire was full lighted,) leaving little or no cinders, but all ashes.

The Whitehaven coal lasted between four and five hours, and left a small heap of cinders, with some slates; and I find it to abound with slates, and very slaty coal, that flies and crackles in the fire. The Kilkenny fire held good and clear above nine hours, with a great heat. Afterwards my fire-maker washed the cinders thereof, and made as good a fire as before, and so continued the same; which convinced me of the extraordinary goodness of this coal, preferable to all the coals that I ever saw, for several uses, the most beneficial coal that I ever yet read or heard of, in these kingdoms, or in all Europe.

Is it not very surprising? or can any sensible man say, that we are in our senses, to encourage, and send abroad for coals, when we have so good a coal of our own at home; far better than the coal which we pay so much ready money for, and so little to share in the kingdom. Now, I may venture to say, and affirm it to be the very best coal in the world.

Look at your prisons, behold the vast number of poor debtors, and, with pity, look upon the poor starving in your streets; while the rich and estated men live in pomp, and innate folly and prodigality abroad, draining this poor country of their wealth.

And when many poor farmers and other manufacturers, for want of due encouragement, are running away,

and transporting themselves to the plantations abroad ; see the decay of trade in general, and all other the misfortunes that surround you : that which was formerly called the Island of Saints, the Plentiful Island, so swarmed with the poorer sort, that it is now almost an Island of Beggars.

The curious, upon inquiry, may have a full account of these coals, by the masters and owners of ships, at Aston's Quay, Dublin.

Some papers have been brought here, as proposals, in relation to some new discoveries of more coal mines, and the more the better ; but at first sight they seem to savour too much of self-interest.

Till these projectors bring specimens, and to such a bearing as the Whitehaven, and till there be a security for the ships, where the proposalists call for L.10,000, though, as I am informed, with a great uncertainty of performance, and another call by way of subscription for above L.20,000. But where and how the money will be raised here, and upon what security, will be another question.

I must be so free with those gentlemen projectors, that at this time a much less sum than either would be better laid out for the relief of the poor ; and since I can have no other view (no manner of interest there,) than serving the public, entitled, without any apology, to a much greater freedom in this city, than poor projectors begging subscriptions to carry on their own works, in the manner and way they have heretofore proposed.

That it is most natural to begin with the coals you have nearest at hand, lying in your own province, and so far preferable, that no other coal here can sink the

established credit of the Whitehaven; and the first point that ought to be cleared up, besides the advantage in bringing them up, both by land and by sea, in great quantities to Dublin. And if the Irish coal be rated from fourteen to seventeen shillings per ton, and Whitehaven from seventeen to twenty shillings, and the Kilkenny coal, which is three times a more lasting and better coal, and may serve for an alloy to the former, can be brought at a less price by water-carriage, as before mentioned, and as by some persons that made trial, and freighted ships from thence at their own expense, have found out why we should not choose the latter, seems very strange. And further, that there are several other coal mines lately discovered there, and those collieries daily improving, that will answer all purposes; and I am sure I can depend upon the credit of so many worthy gentlemen that make a report thereof, and which in a proper time and place you will hear further of.

Excuse haste.

I am with great affection, as well as freedom,

Your most humble, &c.

M. B.

N. B.—This letter (for the benefit of the curious) is to be sold by Christopher Dixon, printer, at the Post-Office, Dublin. Printed alone, for the conveniency of sending them to the country.

LETTERS UPON COALS.

THE DUBLIN WEEKLY JOURNAL,

Saturday, October 25th, 1729.

TO THE PUBLISHER OF THE DUBLIN WEEKLY JOURNAL.

SIR,

WE had some time ago, in your Weekly Journal, two letters about the coals for the use of this city; the inserting this *Third* Letter, as relates to the former, will be a satisfaction to your Correspondents, and oblige every one that is a well-wisher to his country.

We are,

your constant readers,
and subscribe,

A. B. C. D. &c.*

A Third Letter, in answer to a worthy Member of Parliament, and in behalf of many thousand poor Inhabitants of this City, concerning the extravagant rates of Coals, &c.

Dublin, October 23, 1729.

SIR,

YOUR friends being abroad, I read, as you desired, the whole budget of papers you sent about the coals.

* In this letter the Drapier is spoken of as a third person, the author of the two former. It is, therefore, probably not his own writing, which may also be inferred from the great inaccuracy of the style. Much of the indifferent grammar may be ascribed to the incorrect mode of publication.

Proposals, animadversions, with queries, and other remarks, with some ridiculous advertisements in habit and dress more suitable to coal-porters than gentlemen of liberal arts and education. I don't know whose hand and glove fits—but it is not worth the taking up. It seems to be somebody full of scorbutic humour, and wants Dr Hinton's receipt.

Upon your request, I inquired into this affair of coals; and to strengthen and preserve the poor, weak, disordered habit and constitution of body, that this city labours under, with a complication of distempers, requires some remedies, without jarring at one another.

One great disorder and complaint about coals, (which the Drapier most justly observes) is, that there was a considerable sum of money advanced for the encouragement of Irish coals, for laying in, namely, a sufficient stock of our own coals, to lower the extravagant rates of the Whitehaven coal.

When the city was starving all the last winter for want of coals, there was not one barrel of this Irish coal to be had at any rate, and for want of that stock the Whitehaven colliers imposed upon us what rates they pleased.

He also tried the nature and quality of the several sorts of coals, and sent for one hundred of Kilkenny coal, which cost a shilling, and weighed one quarter of an hundred of that coal, one quarter of the Whitehaven, and a quarter of an hundred of the Irish coal, and so ordered, for an experiment or trial, three several fires to be made. The latter consumed away very swift in a blaze, lasted between two and three hours, (from the time that the fire was full lighted) leaving little or no cinders, but all ashes.

The Whitehaven coal lasted between four and five hours, and left a small heap of cinders ; and find it to abound with slates, a very slaty coal, that flies and crackles in the fire. The Kilkenny fire held good and clear above nine hours, with an exceeding great heat ; afterwards the fire-maker washed the cinders thereof, a great quantity, and made as good a fire as before, and so continued the same. It is the most beneficial coal ever yet heard of in these kingdoms ; a coal that has no waste in it, and one ton thereof will outlast two of the Whitehaven. In the Irish history, province of Leinster, county of Kilkenny, this coal is particularly mentioned. It supplies great part of Leinster and Munster ; there is a very large description of the qualities and goodness of this coal for many uses, too tedious here to insert, and far exceeding any other coal for the common use and lasting fire.

Whatever new discoveries there are of more coal mines, (as I am informed of one in the county of Meath,) the more the better ; and let all the encouragement that can be given for finding out the same.

We ought first to begin with the coals we have found to be so good, that we have so near at hand, lying in our own province ; so far preferable, that no other coal as yet found here can sink the established credit of the Whitehaven, for lasting, except the Kilkenny coal.

And I can find no manner of objection but what is all fully answered in the DRAPIER'S Postscript and Letter which you received in May last.

There is one of these gentlemen (mentioned in your letter) has frankly confessed, that the Kilkenny coals are preferable for kitchen uses ; and if what we generally called Kilkenny coals could be brought up in quantities

sufficient to supply this city, yet they would not answer all uses, so in consequence other sorts of coals will be sought after.

But I think the coals for kitchen use, as he calls it, is the chief and most use in the city; and pray if it be a better coal for the kitchen, (which is the greatest article in firing,) is it not good enough for the parlour?

If he wants an extraordinary swift fire for my lady's dressing-room, he may get faggots, and abundance of tallies when he wants faggots.*

I have often wondered why the same sort of tea in the county of Kilkenny has a sweeter flavour, and drinks better there than the Dublin; and I find the cause proceeds frequently from the smoke of the coals here, notwithstanding all the care that can be taken, leaves some tincture in the water, and spoils the taste of the tea.

By the two different fires you will find a great difference in your tea. Some will have it to be the difference in the water; but I assure you, upon trial, you will find it to be in the fire and smoke. There is a great deal in the quality and nature of the coal, those fiery particles that set the water in a ferment; the more easily discerned before it is infused and sweetened.

It is not upon account of recommending this dear-bought East India commodity, nor the modish custom of drinking tea; nor, on the other hand, am I for disobliging the fair sex in so small a trifle as tea-equipage and china-ware; but rather to prevent the many disappointments they meet with in their entertainments, occasioned by the base stinking smoky coals used here.

* This has a strong touch of Swift.

And I must further remark, as to the Kilkenny fire, that, notwithstanding all the variety, French, English, and all sorts of cooks in Dublin, their entertainments in Kilkenny are more palatable, pleasing to the taste, their meat relishes, and much better dressed there than here, and sometimes by the same hand, so that 'tis altogether owing to their sweet, clear, and lasting good fire.

I have heard the master cooks own all this to be matter of fact, and, so often recruiting and mending the fire, condemn the sea-coal for dressing meat on account of the smoke. So plain a demonstration may be very easily tried for our own satisfaction.

The Ballycastle, or Irish coal, (so called for distinction from the Kilkenny,) a small quantity thereof, mixed with the Kilkenny coal, has been tried, and makes a brisk, clear, and ready fire, and answers both purposes; and, therefore, due encouragement ought to be given to both.

In every half barrel of coals you have the one-half of it slack, and that slack of little use. In the Kilkenny, you have all coal and no slack. But I am told by those who have tried it, and it is very natural, that the slack, wet, and thrown upon the Kilkenny fire, by suppression, causes a much greater heat than before, and very useful to both.

The methods proposed for bringing the Kilkenny coal by water are much cheaper than by land-carriage, and in both they have the advantage of any other colliery.

The method, by importing the same yourselves, which may be had at very easy freight.

The coals, great quantities dug up, the conveniences for bringing them are all fixed, ready for embarkation; ships and seamen here in your own port lying idle, for

want of freight ; and this short trip, a voyage so easy, and secure with harbours, in winter-time, that the seafaring men would very willingly embrace any offer to bring the coals in here.

Besides, consider the great difference in freighting your own ships, bringing yourselves your own provision to supply your own market.

The Kilkenny coals that have been here imported, I was so curious to inquire, and I find they have been sold on Aston's Quay here in Dublin at *10d.*, *11d.*, and *12d.* a hundred, the highest price then given.

And, upon your own importation, the price of all sorts of coals and other firing will be much lessened here, without any imposition or exaction from the master and owners, from engrossers, forestallers, or any other interested persons whatsoever. It will be a singular great service and relief to your city ; and save you half in the charge of your firing, and another much greater article in saving the money within yourselves.

But where there is such a jargon and disagreement, no harmony nor concord among one another, in such a confusion even our neighbours make a spoil of us, and we become a ridicule to other nations.

The Whitehaven colliers are continually exhausting your treasure.

The *Calf** has nothing to lick but *chalk*,†
 The butcher's continually bleeding it,
 And *Mully*‡ makes the feast.

* General terms for poor people, or a country in decay of trade.

† Paper credit.

‡ Mully of Mountown.

I shall briefly conclude this answer with what I particularly took notice of in the public,—the true notion and knowledge our neighbours have of this coal in the London prints : St James's Evening Post, August 18, 1729.

“ That several persons have undertaken to bring Kilkenny (coal) to Dublin by water, for public consumption there, which will in some measure lessen the sums carried out of that kingdom for coals, if it proves successful.”

The rest I refer to your own judgment, and every reader to his own interest ; it is plain matter of fact, and just proofs.

All these schemes may be commendable, and where there is no self-interest, but public good, may be brought to perfection, and a benefit to have both the Kilkenny and Irish coals brought up here for your relief ; but the latter will be a work of time.

At present we are in want of a stock, in great want of coals, as we were last year, and no prices regulated.

I am in great hopes the ladies, for the reasons aforementioned, will join in verdict, give their negative to the Whitehaven coals as formerly, NO WOODS, nor no Whitehaven.

I am, in duty and good manners, bound to give you an answer to this letter, and submit the same to your consideration.

I am, Sir,

Your most, &c.

A

LETTER

ON

MR M'CULLA'S PROJECT ABOUT HALFPENCE,

AND A NEW ONE PROPOSED,

IN A LETTER TO DR DELANY. 1729.

SIR,

YOU desire to know my opinion concerning Mr M'Culla's project of circulating notes, stamped on copper, that shall pass for the value of halfpence and pence. I have some knowledge of the man ; and, about a month ago, he brought me his book, with a couple of his halfpenny notes : but I was then out of order, and he could not be admitted. Since that time, I called at his house, where I discoursed the whole affair with him as thoroughly as I could. I am altogether a stranger to his character. He talked to me in the usual style, with a great profession of zeal for the public good ; which is the common cant of all projectors in their bills, from a first minister of state down to a corn-cutter. But I stopped him short, as I would have done a better man ; because it is too gross a practice to pass at any time, and especially in this age, where we all know one another so well. Yet, whoever proposes any scheme which may prove to be a public benefit, I shall not quarrel if it prove likewise very

beneficial to himself. It is certain, that, next to the want of silver, our greatest distress in point of coin is the want of small change, which may be some poor relief for the defect of the former, since the Crown will not please to take that work upon them here, as they do in England. One thing in M'Culla's book is certainly right, that no law hinders me from giving a payable note upon leather, wood, copper, brass, iron, or any other material, (except gold or silver,) as well as upon paper. The question is, whether I can sue him on a copper bond, where there is neither hand nor seal, nor witnesses to prove it? To supply this, he has proposed, that the materials upon which this note is written, shall be in some degree of value equal to the debt. But that is one principal matter to be inquired into. His scheme is this :

He gives you a piece of copper for a halfpenny or penny, stamped with a promissory note to pay you twentypence for every pound of copper notes, whenever you shall return them. Eight and forty of these halfpenny pieces are to weigh a pound ; and he sells you that pound, coined and stamped, for two shillings : by which he clearly gains a little more than sixteen *per cent* ; that is to say, twopence in every shilling.

This will certainly arise to a great sum, if he should circulate as large a quantity of his notes, as the kingdom, under the great dearth of silver, may very probably require : enough indeed to make any Irish tradesman's fortune ; which, however, I should not repine at in the least, if we could be sure of his fair-dealing. It was obvious for me to raise the common objection, why Mr M'Culla would not give security to pay the whole sum to any man who returned him his copper notes, as my Lord Dartmouth and Colonel Moore were, by their pa-

tents, obliged to do. To which he gave some answers plausible enough. First, " He conceived his coins were much nearer to the intrinsic value than any of those coined by patents, the bulk and goodness of the metal equalling the best English halfpence made by the crown : That he apprehended the ill-will of envious and designing people ; who, if they found him to have a great vent for his notes, since he wanted the protection of a patent, might make a run upon him, which he could not be able to support : And lastly, that his copper, (as is already said,) being equal in value and bulk to the English halfpence, he did not apprehend they should ever be returned, unless a combination, proceeding from spite and envy, might be formed against him."

But there are some points in his proposal which I cannot well answer for ; nor do I know whether he will be able to do it himself. The first is, whether the copper he gives us will be as good as what the crown provided for the English halfpence and farthings ; and, secondly, whether he will always continue to give us as good ; and, thirdly, when he will think fit to stop his hand, and give us no more ? for I should be as sorry to be at the mercy of Mr M'Culla, as of Mr Wood.

There is another difficulty of the last importance. It is known enough that the Crown is supposed to be neither gainer nor loser by coinage of any metal : for they subtract, or ought to subtract, no more from the intrinsic value than what will just pay the charges of the mint ; and how much that will amount to, is the question. By what I could gather from Mr M'Culla, good copper is worth fourteenpence per pound. By this computation, if he sells his copper notes for two shillings the pound, and will pay twentypence back, then the expense of coin-

age for one pound of copper must be sixpence, which is thirty per cent. The world should be particularly satisfied on this article before he vends notes ; for the discount of thirty per cent. is prodigious, and vastly more than I can conceive it ought to be. For, if we add to that proportion the sixteen per cent. which he avows to keep for his own profit, there will be a discount of about forty-six per cent. Or, to reckon, I think, a fairer way : Whoever buys a pound of Mr M'Culla's coin, at two shillings per pound, carries home only the real value of fourteenpence, which is a pound of copper ; and thus he is a loser of 4*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per cent. But, however, this high discount of thirty per cent. will be no objection against M'Culla's proposal ; because, if the charge of coining will honestly amount to so much, and we suppose his copper notes may be returned upon him, he will be the greater sufferer of the two ; because the buyer can lose but fourpence in a pound, and M'Culla must lose sixpence, which was the charge of the coinage.

Upon the whole, there are some points which must be settled to the general satisfaction, before we can safely take Mr M'Culla's copper notes for value received ; and how he will give that satisfaction, is not within my knowledge or conjecture. The first point is, that we shall be always sure of receiving good copper, equal in bulk and fineness to the best English halfpence.

The second point is, to know what allowance he makes to himself, either out of the weight or mixture of his copper, or both, for the charge of coinage. As to the weight, the matter is easy by his own scheme ; for, as I have said before, he proposes forty-eight to weigh a pound, which he gives you for two shillings, and receives it by the pound at twentypence : so that, sup-

posing pure copper to be fourteenpence a pound, he makes you pay thirty per cent. for the labour of coining, as I have already observed, beside sixteen per cent. when he sells it. But if to this he adds any alloy, to debase the metal, although it be not above ten per cent.; then Mr M'Culla's promissory notes will, to the intrinsic value of the metal, be above forty-seven per cent. discount.

For, subtracting ten per cent. off sixty pound's worth of copper, it will (to avoid fractions) be about five and a half per cent. in the whole 100%, which, added to

41	13	4
	5	10 0
<hr style="width: 100%;"/>		

will be per cent. 47 3 4

That we are under great distress for change, and that Mr M'Culla's copper notes, on supposition of the metal being pure, are less liable to objection than the project of Wood, may be granted: but such a discount, where we are not sure even of our twentypence a pound, appears hitherto a dead weight on his scheme.

Since I writ this, calling to mind that I had some copper halfpence by me, I weighed them with those of Mr M'Culla, and observed as follows:

First I weighed Mr M'Culla's halfpenny against an English one of King Charles II., which out-weighed Mr M'Culla's a fourth part, or twenty-five per cent.

I likewise weighed an Irish Patrick and David halfpenny, which outweighed Mr M'Culla's twelve and a half per cent. It had a very fair and deep impression, and milled very skilfully round.

I found that even a common harp halfpenny, well-

preserved, weighed equal to Mr M'Culla's. And even some of Wood's halfpence were near equal in weight to his. Therefore, if it be true that he does not think Wood's copper to have been faulty, he may probably give us no better.

I have laid these loose thoughts together with little order, to give you, and others who may read them, an opportunity of digesting them better. I am no enemy to Mr M'Culla's project; but I would have it upon a better foot. I own that this halfpenny of King Charles II., which I weighed against Mr M'Culla's, was of the fairest kind I had seen. However, it is plain the Crown could afford it without being a loser. But it is probable that the officers of the mint were then more honest than they have since thought fit to be; for I confess not to have met those of any other year so weighty, or in appearance of so good metal, among all the copper coins of the three last reigns; yet these, however, did much outweigh those of Mr M'Culla; for I have tried the experiment on a hundred of them. I have indeed seen accidentally one or two very light: but it must certainly have been done by chance; or rather I suppose them to be counterfeits. Be that as it will, it is allowed on all hands, that good copper was never known to be cheaper than it is at present. I am ignorant of the price, farther than by his informing me that it is only fourteenpence a pound; by which, I observe, he charges the coinage at thirty per cent.; and therefore I cannot but think his demands are exorbitant. But, to say the truth, the dearness or cheapness of the metal does not properly enter into the question. What we desire is, that it should be of the best kind, and as weighty as can be afforded; that the profit of the contriver should be reduced from sixteen to eight per cent.; and the

charge of coinage, if possible, from thirty to ten, or fifteen at most.

Mr M'Culla must also give good security that he will coin only a determinate sum, not exceeding twenty thousand pounds; by which, although he should deal with all uprightness imaginable, and make his coin as good as that I weighed of King Charles II., he will, at sixteen per cent., gain three thousand two hundred pounds; a very good additional job to a private tradesman's fortune!

I must advise him also to employ better workmen, and make his impressions deeper and plainer; by which a rising rim may be left about the edge of his coin, to preserve the letter from wearing out too soon. He has no wardens or masters, or other officers of the mint, to suck up his profit; and therefore can afford to coin cheaper than the Crown, if he will find good materials, proper implements, and skilful workmen.

Whether this project will succeed in Mr M'Culla's hands, (which, if it be honestly executed, I should be glad to see,) one thing I am confident of, that it might be easily brought to perfection by a society of nine or ten honest gentlemen of fortune, who wish well to their country, and would be content to be neither gainers nor losers, farther than the bare interest of their money. And Mr M'Culla, as being the first starter of the scheme, might be considered and rewarded by such a society; whereof, although I am not a man of fortune, I should think it an honour and happiness to be one, even with borrowed money upon the best security I could give. And, first, I am confident, without any skill, but by general reason, that the charge of coining copper would be very much less than thirty per cent. Secondly, I believe

ten thousand pounds, in halfpence and farthings, would be sufficient for the whole kingdom, even under our great and most unnecessary distress for the want of silver ; and that, without such a distress, half the sum would suffice. For, I compute and reason thus : the city of Dublin, by a gross computation, contains ten thousand families ; and I am told by shopkeepers, “ That if silver were plenty as usual, two shillings in copper would be sufficient, in the course of business, for each family.” But, in consideration of the want of silver, I would allow five shillings to each family, which would amount to 2500*l.* ; and, to help this, I would recommend a currency of all the genuine undefaced harp-halfpence, which are left, of Lord Dartmouth's and Moor's patents under King Charles II. ; and the small Patrick and David for farthings. To the rest of the kingdom, I would assign the 7500*l.* remaining ; reckoning Dublin to answer one-fourth of the kingdom, as London is judged to answer (if I mistake not) one-third of England ; I mean in the view of money only.

To compute our want of small change by the number of souls in the kingdom, besides being perplexed, is, I think, by no means just. They have been reckoned at a million and a half ; whereof a million at least are beggars in all circumstances, except that of wandering about for alms ; and that circumstance may arrive soon enough, when it will be time to add another ten thousand pounds in copper. But, without doubt, the families of Ireland, who lie chiefly under the difficulties of wanting small change, cannot be above forty or fifty thousand, which the sum of ten thousand pounds, with the addition of the fairest old halfpence, would tolerably supply ; for, if we give too great a loose to any projec-

tor to pour in upon us what he pleases, the kingdom will be, (how shall I express it under our present circumstances?) more than undone.

And hence appears, in a very strong light, the villainy of Wood, who proposed the coinage of one hundred and eight thousand pounds in copper, for the use of Ireland; whereby every family in the kingdom would be loaded with ten or a dozen shillings, although Wood might not transgress the bounds of his patent, and although no counterfeits, either at home or abroad, were added to the number; the contrary to both which would indubitably have arrived. So ill informed are great men on the other side, who talk of a million with as little ceremony as we do of half-a-crown!

But to return to the proposal I have made: Suppose ten gentlemen, lovers of their country, should raise 200*l.* a-piece; and, from the time the money is deposited as they shall agree, should begin to charge it with seven per cent. for their own use; that they should, as soon as possible, provide a mint and good workmen, and buy copper sufficient for coining two thousand pounds, subtracting a fifth part of the interest of ten thousand pounds for the charges of the tools, and fitting up a place for a mint; the other four parts of the same interest to be subtracted equally out of the four remaining coinages of 2000*l.* each, with a just allowance for other necessary incidents. Let the charge of coinage be fairly reckoned, and the kingdom informed of it, as well as of the price of copper. Let the coin be as well and deeply stamped as it ought. Let the metal be as pure as can consist to have it rightly coined, (wherein I am wholly ignorant,) and the bulk as large as that of King Charles II. And let this club of ten gentlemen give their joint security to receive all the coins they issue out for seven or

ten years, and return gold and silver without any defalcation.

Let the same club, or company, when they have issued out the first two thousand pounds, go on the second year, if they find a demand, and that their scheme has answered to their own intention, as well as to the satisfaction of the public. And, if they find seven per cent. not sufficient, let them subtract eight, beyond which I would not have them go. And when they have in two years coined ten thousand pounds, let them give public notice that they will proceed no farther, but shut up their mint, and dismiss their workmen; unless the real, universal, unsolicited, declaration of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom shall signify a desire that they should go on for a certain sum farther.

This company may enter into certain regulations among themselves; one of which should be, to keep nothing concealed, and duly to give an account to the world of their whole methods of acting.

Give me leave to compute, wholly at random, what charge the kingdom will be at, by the loss of intrinsic value in the coinage of 10,000*l.* in copper, under the management of such a society of gentlemen.

First, It is plain that instead of somewhat more than 16 per cent. as demanded by Mr M'Culla, this society desires but 8 per cent.

Secondly, Whereas Mr M'Culla charges the expense of coinage at thirty per cent., I hope and believe this society will be able to perform it at ten.

Whereas it does not appear that Mr M'Culla can give any security for the goodness of his copper, because not one in ten thousand have the skill to distinguish; the society will be all engaged that theirs shall be of the best standard.

Fourthly, That whereas Mr M'Culla's halfpence are one-fourth part lighter than that kind coined in the time of King Charles II., these gentlemen will oblige themselves to the public, to give the coin of the same weight and goodness with those halfpence, unless they shall find they cannot afford it; and, in that case, they shall beforehand inform the public, shew their reasons, and signify how large they can make them without being losers; and so give over or pursue their scheme, as they find the opinion of the world to be. However, I do not doubt but they can afford them as large, and of as good metal, as the best English halfpence that have been coined in the three last reigns, which very much outweigh those of Mr M'Culla. And this advantage will arise in proportion, by lessening the charge of coinage from thirty per cent. to ten or fifteen, or twenty at most. But I confess myself in the dark on that article; only I think it impossible it should amount to any proportion near thirty per cent.; otherwise the coiners of those counterfeit halfpence called raps would have little encouragement to follow their trade.

But the indubitable advantages, by having the management in such a society, would be the paying eight per cent. instead of sixteen, the being sure of the goodness and just weight of the coin, and the period to be put to any farther coinage than what was absolutely necessary to supply the wants and desires of the kingdom; and all this under the security of ten gentlemen of credit and fortune, who would be ready to give the best security and satisfaction, that they had no design to turn the scheme into a job.

As to any mistakes I have made in computation, they

are of little moment ; and I shall not descend so low as to justify them against any caviller.

The strongest objections against what I offer, and which perhaps may make it appear visionary, is the difficulty to find half a score gentlemen, who, out of a public spirit, will be at the trouble, for no more profit than one per cent. above the legal interest, to be overseers of a mint for five years ; and perhaps, without any justice, raise the clamour of the people against them. Besides, it is most certain that many a squire is as fond of a job, and as dexterous to make the best of it, as Mr M'Culla himself, or any of his level. However, I do not doubt but there may be ten such persons in this town, if they had only some visible mark to know them at sight. Yet I just foresee another inconveniency ; that knavish men are fitter to deal with others of their own denomination ; while those who are honest and best-intentioned may be the instruments of as much mischief to the public, for want of cunning, as the greatest knaves ; and more, because of the charitable opinion which they are apt to have of others. Therefore, how to join the prudence of the serpent with the innocency of the dove, in this affair, is the most difficult point. It is not so hard to find an honest man, as to make this honest man active, and vigilant, and skilful ; which, I doubt, will require a spur of profit greater than my scheme will afford him, unless he will be contented with the honour of serving his country, and the reward of a good conscience.

After reviewing what I had written, I see very well that I have not given any allowance for the first charge of preparing all things necessary for coining, which, I am told, will amount to about 200*l.* besides 20*l.* per annum for five years rent of a house to work in. I can

only say, that, this making in all 300*l.*, it will be an addition of no more than three per cent. out of 10,000*l.*

But the great advantages of the public, by having the coinage placed in the hands of ten gentlemen such as I have already described, (if such are to be found,) are these :—

First, They propose no other gain to themselves than one per cent. above the legal interest for the money they advance ; which will hardly afford them coffee when they meet at their mint-house.

Secondly, They bind themselves to make their coins of as good copper as the best English halfpence, and as well coined, and of equal weight ; and do likewise bind themselves to charge the public with not one farthing for the expense of coinage, more than it shall really stand them in.

Thirdly, They will, for a limited term of seven or ten years, as shall be thought proper upon mature consideration, pay gold and silver, without any defalcation, for all their own coin that shall be returned upon their hands.

Fourthly, They will take care that the coins shall have a deep impression, leaving a rising rim on both sides, to prevent their being defaced in a long time ; and the edges shall be milled.

I suppose they need not be very apprehensive of counterfeits, which it will be difficult to make so as not to be discovered ; for it is plain that those bad halfpence called raps are so easily distinguished, even from the most worn genuine halfpenny, that nobody will now take them for a farthing, although under the great present want of change.

I shall here subjoin some computations relating to Mr

M'Culla's copper notes. They were sent to me by a person well skilled in such calculations; and therefore I refer them to the reader.

Mr M'Culla charges good copper at fourteenpence per pound: but I know not whether he means avoirdupois or troy weight.

Avoirdupois is sixteen ounces to a pound, 6960 grains.
A pound troy weight, 5760 grains.

Mr M'Culla's copper is fourteenpence per pound avoirdupois.

Two of Mr Culla's penny notes, one with another, weigh 524 grains.

By which computation, two shillings of his notes, which he sells for one pound weight, will weigh 6288 grains,

But one pound avoirdupois weighs, as above, 6960 grains.

This difference makes 10 per cent. to Mr M'Culla's profit, in point of weight.

The old Patrick and David halfpenny weighs 149 grains.

Mr M'Culla's halfpenny weighs 131 grains.

The difference is 18

Which is equal to $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

The English halfpenny of King Charles

II. weighs 167 grains.

Mr M'Culla's halfpenny weighs 131 grains.

The difference is 36

Which difference, allowed a fifth part, is 20 per cent.

ANOTHER COMPUTATION.

Mr M'Culla allows his pound of copper (coinage included) to be worth twentypence; for which he demands two shillings.

His coinage he computes at sixpence per pound weight; therefore, laying out only twentypence, and gaining fourpence, he makes per cent. profit,	20
The sixpence per pound weight, allowed for coinage, makes per cent.	30
The want of weight in his halfpenny, compared as above, is per cent.	1
By all which (viz. coinage, profit, and want of weight) the public loses per cent.	60

If Mr M'Culla's coins will not pass, and he refuses to receive them back, the owner cannot sell them at above tweldepence per pound; whereby, with the defect of weight of 10 per cent., he will lose 60 per cent.

The scheme of the society, raised as high as it can possibly be, will be only thus:

For interest of their money per cent.	8
For coinage, instead of 10, suppose at most per cent.	20
For L.300 laid out for tools, a mint, and house-rent, charge 3 per cent. upon the coinage of L.10,000,	3

Charges in all upon interest, coinage, &c. per cent., 31

Which, with all the advantages above-mentioned, of the goodness of the metal, the largeness of the coin, the deepness and fairness of the impression, the assurance of the society confining itself to such a sum as they undertake, or as the kingdom shall approve; and lastly, their

paying in gold or silver for all their coin returned upon their hands without any defalcation, would be of mighty benefit to the kingdom ; and, with a little steadiness and activity, could, I doubt not, be easily compassed.

I would not in this scheme recommend the method of promissory notes, after Mr M'Culla's manner ; but, as I have seen in old Irish coins, the words CIVITAS DUBLIN, on one side, with the year of our Lord and the Irish harp on the reverse.

A PROPOSAL

THAT

ALL THE LADIES AND WOMEN OF IRELAND
 SHOULD APPEAR CONSTANTLY IN IRISH
 MANUFACTURES. 1729.

THERE was a treatise written about nine years ago, to persuade the people of Ireland to wear their own manufactures. This treatise was allowed to have not one syllable in it of party or disaffection; but was wholly founded upon the growing poverty of the nation, occasioned by the utter want of trade, except the ruinous importation of all foreign extravagancies from other countries. This treatise was presented, by the grand jury of the city and county of Dublin, as a scandalous, seditious, and factious pamphlet. I forget who was the foreman of the city grand jury; but the foreman for the county was one Dr Seal, register to the Archbishop of Dublin, wherein he differed much from the sentiments of his lord.* The printer was tried before the late Mr

* See the author's Letter to the Archbishop concerning the weavers, in which he presses the necessity of a non-importation law.

Whitshed, that famous Lord chief-justice ; who, on the bench, laying his hand on his heart, declared, upon his salvation, “ That the author was a jacobite, and had a design to beget a quarrel between the two nations.” In the midst of this prosecution, about fifteen hundred weavers were forced to beg their bread, and had a general contribution made for their relief, which just served to make them drunk for a week ; and then they were forced to turn rogues, or strolling beggars, or to leave the kingdom.

The Duke of Grafton, who was then Lieutenant, being perfectly ashamed of so infamous and unpopular a proceeding, obtained from England a *noli prosequi* for the printer. Yet the grand jury had solemn thanks given them from the Secretary of State.

I mention this passage (perhaps too much forgotten,) to shew how dangerous it has been for the best meaning person to write one syllable in the defence of his country, or discover the miserable condition it is in.

And to prove this truth, I will produce one instance more ; wholly omitting the famous case of the Drapier, and the proclamation against him, as well as the perverseness of another jury against the same Mr Whitshed, who was violently bent to act the second part in another scene.

About two years ago, there was a small paper printed, which was called, “ A Short View of the State of Ireland,” relating to the several causes whereby any country may grow rich, and applying them to Ireland. Whitshed was dead, and consequently the printer was not troubled. Mist, the famous journalist, happened to reprint this paper in London, for which his press-folk

were prosecuted for almost a twelvemonth ; and, for aught I know, are not yet discharged.

This is our case ; insomuch, that although I am often without money in my pocket, I dare not own it in some company, for fear of being thought disaffected.

But, since I am determined to take care that the author of this paper shall not be discovered (following herein the most prudent practice of the Drapier,) I will venture to affirm, that the three seasons wherein our corn has miscarried, did no more contribute to our present misery, than one spoonful of water thrown upon a rat already drowned would contribute to his death ; and that the present plentiful harvest, although it should be followed by a dozen ensuing, would no more restore us, than it would the rat aforesaid to put him near the fire, which might indeed warm his fur coat, but never bring him back to life.

The short of the matter is this : The distresses of the kingdom are operating more and more every day, by very large degrees, and so have been doing for above a dozen years past.

If you demand whence these distresses have arisen, I desire to ask the following question :

If two-thirds of any kingdom's revenue be exported to another country, without one farthing of value in return ; and if the said kingdom be forbidden the most profitable branches of trade wherein to employ the other third, and only allowed to traffic in importing those commodities which are most ruinous to itself ; how shall that kingdom stand ?

If this question were formed into the first proposition of an hypothetical syllogism, I defy the man born in Ireland, who is now in the fairest way of getting a col-

lectorship, or a cornet's post, to give good reason for denying it.

Let me put another case. Suppose a gentleman's estate of two hundred pounds a-year should sink to one hundred, by some accident, whether by an earthquake, or inundation, it matters not: and suppose the said gentleman utterly hopeless and unqualified ever to retrieve the loss; how is he otherwise to proceed in his future economy, than by reducing it on every article to one half less, unless he will be content to fly his country, or rot in a gaol? This is a representation of Ireland's condition; only with one fault, that it is a little too favourable. Neither am I able to propose a full remedy for this, but only a small prolongation of life, until God shall miraculously dispose the hearts of our neighbours and our kinsmen, our fellow-protestants, fellow-subjects, and fellow rational creatures, to permit us to starve without running farther into debt. I am informed that our national debt (and God knows how we wretches came by that fashionable thing a national debt) is about two hundred and fifty thousand pounds; which is at least one-third of the whole kingdom's rents, after our absentees and other foreign drains are paid, and about fifty thousand pounds more than all the cash.

It seems there are several schemes for raising a fund to pay the interest of this formidable sum, not the principal, for this is allowed impossible. The necessity of raising such a fund, is strongly and regularly pleaded, from the late deficiencies in the duties and customs. And is it a fault of Ireland that these funds are deficient? If they depend on trade, can it possibly be otherwise, while we have neither liberty to trade, nor money to trade with; neither hands to work, nor business to

employ them, if we had? Our diseases are visible enough both in their causes and effects; and the cures are well known, but impossible to be applied.

If my steward comes and tells me, "that my rents are sunk so low, that they are very little more than sufficient to pay my servants their wages;" have I any other course left than to cashier four in six of my rascally footmen, and a number of other varlets in my family, of whose insolence the whole neighbourhood complains? And I would think it extremely severe in any law, to force me to maintain a household of fifty servants, and fix their wages, before I had offered my rent-roll upon oath to the legislators.

To return from digressing: I am told one scheme for raising a fund to pay the interest of our national debt, is, by a farther duty of forty shillings a tun upon wine. Some gentlemen would carry this much farther, by raising it to twelve pounds; which, in a manner, would amount to a prohibition: thus weakly arguing from the practice of England.

I have often taken notice, both in print and in discourse, that there is no topic so fallacious, either in talk or in writing, as to argue how we ought to act in Ireland, from the example of England, Holland, France, or any other country, whose inhabitants are allowed the common rights and liberties of humankind. I could undertake to name six or seven of the most uncontrolled maxims in government, which are utterly false in this kingdom.

As to the additional duty on wine, I think any person may deliver his opinion upon it, until it shall have passed into a law; and till then, I declare mine to be positively against it.

First, Because there is no nation yet known, in either hemisphere, where the people of all conditions are more in want of some cordial to keep up their spirits, than in this of ours. I am not in jest; and if the fact will not be allowed me, I shall not argue it.

Secondly, It is too well and generally known, that this tax of forty shillings additional on every tun of wine, (which will be double, at least, to the home consumer) will increase equally every new session of Parliament, until it comes, perhaps, to twelve pounds.

Thirdly, Because, as the merchants inform me, and as I have known many the like instances in England, this additional tax will more probably lessen this branch of the revenue, than increase it. And therefore Sir John Stanley, a commissioner of the customs in England, used to say, "That the House of Commons were generally mistaken in matters of trade, by an erroneous opinion that two and two make four." Thus, if you should lay an additional duty of one penny a pound on raisins or sugar, the revenue, instead of rising, would certainly sink; and the consequence would only be, to lessen the number of plum-puddings, and ruin the confectioner.

Fourthly, I am likewise assured by merchants, that upon this additional forty shillings, the French will at least equally raise their duties upon all commodities we export thither.

Fifthly, If an original extract of the exports and imports be true, we have been gainers, upon the balance, by our trade with France, for several years past; and, although our gain amounts to no great sum, we ought to be satisfied, since we are no losers, with the only consolation we are capable of receiving.

Lastly, The worst consequence is behind. If we raise the duty on wine to a considerable height, we lose the only hold we have of keeping among us the few gentlemen of any tolerable estates. I am confident there is hardly a gentleman of eight hundred pounds a-year and upward, in this kingdom, who would balance half an hour to consider whether he should live here or in England, if a family could be as cheaply maintained in the one as the other. As to eatables, they are as cheap in many fine counties of England, as in some very indifferent ones here; or, if there be any difference, that vein of thrift and prudence in economy, which passes there without reproach, (and chiefly in London itself,) would amply make up the difference. But the article of French wine is hardly tolerable, in any degree of plenty, to a middling fortune; and this it is, which, by growing habitual, wholly turns the scale with those few landed men, disengaged from employments, who content themselves to live hospitably with plenty of good wine in their own country, rather than in penury and obscurity in another, with bad, or with none at all.

Having, therefore, as far as in me lies, abolished this additional duty upon wine; for I am not under the least concern about paying the interest of the national debt, but leave it, as in loyalty bound, wholly to the wisdom of the honourable House of Commons; I come now to consider by what methods we may be able to put off and delay our utter undoing as long as it is possible.

I never have discoursed with any reasonable man upon the subject, who did not allow that there was no remedy left us, but to lessen the importation of all unnecessary commodities as much as it was possible; and

likewise either to persuade our absentees to spend their money at home, which is impossible; or tax them at five shillings in the pound during their absence, with such allowances, upon necessary occasions, as shall be thought convenient: or, by permitting us a free trade, which is denied to no other nation upon earth. The three last methods are treated by Mr Prior, in his most useful treatise, added to his list of absentees.

It is to gratify the vanity, and pride, and luxury of the women, and of the young fops who admire them, that we owe this insupportable grievance, of bringing in the instrument of our ruin. There is annually brought over to this kingdom near ninety thousand pounds worth of silk, whereof the greater part is manufactured. Thirty thousand pounds more expended in muslin, holland, cambric, and calico. What the price of lace amounts to, is not easy to be collected from the custom-house book, being a kind of goods that takes up a little room, and is easily run; but, considering the prodigious price of a woman's head-dress, at ten, twelve, twenty pounds a yard, must be very great. The tea, rated at seven shillings per pound, comes to near twelve thousand pounds; but, considering it as the common luxury of every chambermaid, sempstress, and tradesman's wife, both in town and country, however they come by it, must needs cost the kingdom double that sum. Coffee is somewhat above seven thousand pounds. I have seen no account of the chocolate, and some other Indian or American goods. The drapery imported is about four-and-twenty thousand pounds. The whole amounts (with one or two other particulars) to one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. The lavishing of all which mo-

ney is just as prudent and necessary, as to see a man in an embroidered coat, begging out of Newgate in an old shoe.

I allow that the thrown and raw silk is less pernicious, because we have some share in the manufacture : but we are not now in circumstances to trifle. It costs us above forty thousand pounds a-year ; and if the ladies, till better times, will not be content to go in their own country shifts, I wish they may go in rags. Let them vie with each other in the fineness of their native linen : their beauty and gentleness will as well appear, as if they were covered with diamonds and brocade.

I believe no man is so weak, as to hope or expect that such a reformation can be brought about by a law. But a thorough hearty, unanimous vote, in both houses of Parliament, might perhaps answer as well : every senator, noble or plebeian, giving his honour, " That neither himself, nor any of his family, would, in their dress, or furniture of their houses, make use of anything except what was of the growth and manufacture of this kingdom ; and that they would use the utmost of their power, influence, and credit, to prevail on their tenants, dependents, and friends, to follow their example."

A

MODEST PROPOSAL

FOR PREVENTING THE CHILDREN OF POOR PEOPLE IN IRELAND FROM BEING A BURDEN TO THEIR PARENTS OR COUNTRY, AND FOR MAKING THEM BENEFICIAL TO THE PUBLIC. 1729.

This celebrated piece of humour is urged with such inimitable gravity of irony, that a foreign author is said actually to have considered the proposal as serious, and to have quoted it as an instance of the extremity under which Ireland laboured, that a man of letters, and a clergyman, had seriously recommended to the rich to feed upon the children of the poor.

IT is a melancholy object to those who walk through this great town, or travel in the country, when they see the streets, the roads, and cabin-doors, crowded with beggars of the female sex, followed by three, four, or six children, all in rags, and importuning every passenger for an alms. These mothers, instead of being able to work for their honest livelihood, are forced to employ all their time, in strolling to beg sustenance for their helpless infants; who, as they grow up, either turn thieves for want of work, or leave their dear native country to fight for the Pretender in Spain, or sell themselves to the Barbadoes.

I think it is agreed by all parties, that this prodigious number of children in the arms, or on the backs, or at the heels of their mothers, and frequently of their fathers, is, in the present deplorable state of the kingdom, a very great additional grievance ; and, therefore, whoever could find out a fair, cheap, and easy method of making these children sound, useful members of the commonwealth, would deserve so well of the public, as to have his statue set up for a preserver of the nation.

But my intention is very far from being confined to provide only for the children of professed beggars ; it is of a much greater extent, and shall take in the whole number of infants at a certain age, who are born of parents in effect as little able to support them, as those who demand our charity in the streets.

As to my own part, having turned my thoughts for many years upon this important subject, and maturely weighed the several schemes of our projectors, I have always found them grossly mistaken in their computation. It is true, a child, just dropped from its dam, may be supported by her milk for a solar year, with little other nourishment ; at most, not above the value of two shillings, which the mother may certainly get, or the value in scraps, by her lawful occupation of begging ; and it is exactly at one year old that I propose to provide for them in such a manner, as, instead of being a charge upon their parents, or the parish, or wanting food and raiment for the rest of their lives, they shall, on the contrary, contribute to the feeding, and partly to the clothing, of many thousands.

There is likewise another great advantage in my scheme, that it will prevent those voluntary abortions, and that horrid practice of women murdering their bas-

tard children, alas, too frequent among us! sacrificing the poor innocent babes, I doubt more to avoid the expense than the shame, which would move tears and pity in the most savage and inhuman breast.

The number of souls in this kingdom being usually reckoned one million and a half, of these I calculate there may be about two hundred thousand couple whose wives are breeders; from which number I subtract thirty thousand couple, who are able to maintain their own children, (although I apprehend there cannot be so many, under the present distresses of the kingdom;) but this being granted, there will remain a hundred and seventy thousand breeders. I again subtract fifty thousand, for those women who miscarry, or whose children die by accident or disease within the year. There only remain a hundred and twenty thousand children of poor parents annually born. The question therefore is, How this number shall be reared and provided for? which, as I have already said, under the present situation of affairs, is utterly impossible by all the methods hitherto proposed. For we can neither employ them in handicraft or agriculture; we neither build houses (I mean in the country,) nor cultivate land: they can very seldom pick up a livelihood by stealing, till they arrive at six years old, except where they are of towardly parts; although I confess they learn the rudiments much earlier; during which time they can, however, be properly looked upon only as probationers; as I have been informed by a principal gentleman in the county of Cavan, who protested to me, that he never knew above one or two instances under the age of six, even in a part of the kingdom so renowned for the quickest proficiency in that art.

I am assured by our merchants, that a boy or a girl

before twelve years old is no saleable commodity ; and even when they come to this age they will not yield above three pounds, or three pounds and half-a-crown at most, on the exchange ; which cannot turn to account either to the parents or kingdom, the charge of nutriment and rags having been at least four times that value.

I shall now, therefore, humbly propose my own thoughts, which I hope will not be liable to the least objection.

I have been assured by a very knowing American of my acquaintance in London, that a young healthy child, well nursed, is, at a year old, a most delicious, nourishing, and wholesome food, whether stewed, roasted, baked, or boiled ; and I make no doubt that it will equally serve in a fricassee or a ragout.

I do therefore humbly offer it to public consideration, that of the hundred and twenty thousand children already computed, twenty thousand may be reserved for breed, whereof only one-fourth part to be males ; which is more than we allow to sheep, black-cattle, or swine ; and my reason is, that these children are seldom the fruits of marriage, a circumstance not much regarded by our savages, therefore one male will be sufficient to serve four females. That the remaining hundred thousand may, at a year old, be offered in sale to the persons of quality and fortune through the kingdom ; always advising the mother to let them suck plentifully in the last month, so as to render them plump and fat for a good table. A child will make two dishes at an entertainment for friends ; and when the family dines alone, the fore or hind quarter will make a reasonable dish, and, seasoned with a little pepper or salt, will be very good boiled on the fourth day, especially in winter.

I have reckoned, upon a medium, that a child just

born will weigh twelve pounds, and in a solar year, if tolerably nursed, will increase to twenty-eight pounds.

I grant this food will be somewhat dear, and therefore very proper for landlords, who, as they have already devoured most of the parents, seem to have the best title to the children.

Infants' flesh will be in season throughout the year, but more plentifully in March, and a little before and after: for we are told by a grave author, an eminent French physician, that fish being a prolific diet, there are more children born in Roman Catholic countries about nine months after Lent, than at any other season; therefore, reckoning a year after Lent, the markets will be more glutted than usual, because the number of Popish infants is at least three to one in this kingdom; and therefore it will have one other collateral advantage, by lessening the number of Papists among us.

I have already computed the charge of nursing a beggar's child (in which list I reckon all cottagers, labourers, and four-fifths of the farmers) to be about two shillings per annum, rags included; and I believe no gentleman would repine to give ten shillings for the carcass of a good fat child, which, as I have said, will make four dishes of excellent nutritive meat, when he has only some particular friend, or his own family, to dine with him. Thus the squire will learn to be a good landlord, and grow popular among his tenants; the mother will have eight shillings net profit, and be fit for work till she produces another child.

Those who are more thrifty (as I must confess the times require) may flay the carcass; the skin of which, artificially dressed, will make admirable gloves for ladies, and summer-boots for fine gentlemen.

As to our city of Dublin, shambles may be appointed for this purpose in the most convenient parts of it, and butchers we may be assured will not be wanting; although I rather recommend buying the children alive, then dressing them hot from the knife, as we do roasting pigs.

A very worthy person, a true lover of his country, and whose virtues I highly esteem, was lately pleased, in discoursing on this matter, to offer a refinement upon my scheme. He said, that many gentlemen of this kingdom, having of late destroyed their deer, he conceived that the want of venison might be well supplied by the bodies of young lads and maidens, not exceeding fourteen years of age, nor under twelve; so great a number of both sexes in every country being now ready to starve for want of work and service; and these to be disposed of by their parents, if alive, or otherwise by their nearest relations. But, with due deference to so excellent a friend, and so deserving a patriot, I cannot be altogether in his sentiments; for as to the males, my American acquaintance assured me, from frequent experience, that their flesh was generally tough and lean, like that of our schoolboys, by continual exercise, and their taste disagreeable; and to fatten them would not answer the charge. Then as to the females, it would, I think, with humble submission, be a loss to the public, because they soon would become breeders themselves: and besides, it is not improbable that some scrupulous people might be apt to censure such a practice, (although indeed very unjustly,) as a little bordering upon cruelty; which, I confess, has always been with me the strongest objection against any project, how well soever intended.

But in order to justify my friend, he confessed that this expedient was put into his head by the famous

Psalmanazar, a native of the island Formosa, who came from thence to London above twenty years ago ; and in conversation told my friend, that in his country, when any young person happened to be put to death, the executioner sold the carcass to persons of quality as a prime dainty ; and that in his time the body of a plump girl of fifteen, who was crucified for an attempt to poison the emperor, was sold to his imperial majesty's prime minister of state, and other great mandarins of the court, in joints from the gibbet, at four hundred crowns.* Neither

* This anecdote is taken from the Description of the Island of Formosa by that very extraordinary impostor George Psalmanazar, who for some time passed himself for a native of that distant country. He afterwards published a retractation of his figments, with many expressions of contrition, but containing certain very natural indications of dislike to those who had detected him. The passage referred to in the text is as follows :—“ We also eat humane flesh, which I am now convinced is a very barbarous custom, though we feed only upon our open enemies, slain or made captive in the field, or else upon malefactors legally executed ; the flesh of the latter is our greatest dainty, and is four times dearer than other rare and delicious meat. We buy it of the executioner, for the bodies of all public capital offenders are his fees. As soon as the criminal is dead, he cuts the body in pieces, squeezes out the blood, and makes his house a shambles for the flesh of men and women, where all people that can afford it come and buy. I remember, about ten years ago, a tall, well-complexioned, pretty fat virgin, about nineteen years of age, and tire-woman to the queen, was found guilty of high treason, for designing to poison the king ; and accordingly she was condemned to suffer the most cruel death that could be invented, and her sentence was, to be nailed to a cross, and kept alive as long as possible. The sentence was put in execution ; when she fainted with the cruel torment, the hangman gave her strong liquors, &c. to revive her ; the sixth day she died. Her long sufferings, youth, and good constitution, made her flesh so tender, delicious, and valuable, that the executioner sold it for above eight tailles ; for there was such thronging to this inhuman market, that men of great fashion thought themselves fortunate if they could purchase a pound or two of it.” Lond. 1705. p. 112.

indeed can I deny, that if the same use were made of several plump young girls in this town, who, without one single groat to their fortunes, cannot stir abroad without a chair, and appear at playhouse and assemblies in foreign fineries which they never will pay for, the kingdom would not be the worse.

Some persons of a desponding spirit are in great concern about that vast number of poor people, who are aged, diseased, or maimed; and I have been desired to employ my thoughts, what course may be taken to ease the nation of so grievous an encumbrance. But I am not in the least pain upon that matter, because it is very well known, that they are every day dying, and rotting, by cold and famine, and filth and vermin, as fast as can be reasonably expected. And as to the young labourers, they are now in almost as hopeful a condition: they cannot get work, and consequently pine away for want of nourishment, to a degree, that if at any time they are accidentally hired to common labour, they have not strength to perform it; and thus the country and themselves are happily delivered from the evils to come.

I have too long digressed, and therefore shall return to my subject. I think the advantages by the proposal which I have made, are obvious and many, as well as of the highest importance.

For first, as I have already observed, it would greatly lessen the number of Papists, with whom we are yearly over-run, being the principal breeders of the nation, as well as our most dangerous enemies; and who stay at home on purpose to deliver the kingdom to the Pretender, hoping to take their advantage by the absence of so many good Protestants, who have chosen rather

to leave their country, than stay at home and pay tithes against their conscience to an Episcopal curate.

Secondly, The poorer tenants will have something valuable of their own, which by law may be made liable to distress, and help to pay their landlord's rent; their corn and cattle being already seized, and money a thing unknown.

Thirdly, Whereas the maintenance of a hundred thousand children, from two years old and upward, cannot be computed at less than ten shillings a piece per annum, the nation's stock will be thereby increased fifty thousand pounds per annum, beside the profit of a new dish introduced to the tables of all gentlemen of fortune in the kingdom, who have any refinement in taste. And the money will circulate among ourselves, the goods being entirely of our own growth and manufacture.

Fourthly, The constant breeders, beside the gain of eight shillings sterling per annum by the sale of their children, will be rid of the charge of maintaining them after the first year.

Fifthly, This food would likewise bring great custom to taverns; where the vintners will certainly be so prudent as to procure the best receipts for dressing it to perfection, and, consequently, have their houses frequented by all the fine gentlemen, who justly value themselves upon their knowledge in good eating: and a skilful cook, who understands how to oblige his guests, will contrive to make it as expensive as they please.

Sixthly, This would be a great inducement to marriage, which all wise nations have either encouraged by rewards, or enforced by laws and penalties. It would increase the care and tenderness of mothers toward their

children, when they were sure of a settlement for life to the poor babes, provided in some sort by the public, to their annual profit or expense. We should see an honest emulation among the married women, which of them could bring the fattest child to the market. Men would become as fond of their wives during the time of their pregnancy, as they are now of their mares in foal, their cows in calf, their sows when they are ready to farrow; nor offer to beat or kick them (as is too frequent a practice) for fear of a miscarriage.

Many other advantages might be enumerated. For instance, the addition of some thousand carcasses in our exportation of barrelled beef; the propagation of swine's flesh, and improvement in the art of making good bacon, so much wanted among us by the great destruction of pigs, too frequent at our table; which are no way comparable in taste or magnificence to a well-grown, fat, yearling child, which, roasted whole, will make a considerable figure at a lord mayor's feast, or any other public entertainment. But this, and many others, I omit, being studious of brevity.

Supposing that one thousand families in this city would be constant customers for infants' flesh, beside others who might have it at merry-meetings, particularly at weddings and christenings, I compute that Dublin would take off annually about twenty thousand carcasses; and the rest of the kingdom (where probably they will be sold somewhat cheaper) the remaining eighty thousand.

I can think of no one objection, that will possibly be raised against this proposal, unless it should be urged, that the number of people will be thereby much lessened in the kingdom. This I freely own, and it was in-

deed one principal design in offering it to the world. I desire the reader will observe, that I calculate my remedy for this one individual kingdom of Ireland, and for no other that ever was, is, or I think ever can be, upon earth. Therefore let no man talk to me of other expedients: of taxing our absentees at five shillings a pound: of using neither clothes, nor household-furniture, except what is our own growth and manufacture: of utterly rejecting the materials and instruments that promote foreign luxury: of curing the expensiveness of pride, vanity, idleness, and gaming in our women: of introducing a vein of parsimony, prudence, and temperance: of learning to love our country, in the want of which we differ even from LAPLANDERS, and the inhabitants of TOPINAMBOO: of quitting our animosities and factions, nor acting any longer like the Jews, who were murdering one another at the very moment their city was taken: of being a little cautious not to sell our country and conscience for nothing: of teaching landlords to have at least one degree of mercy toward their tenants: lastly, of putting a spirit of honesty, industry, and skill into our shopkeepers; who, if a resolution could now be taken to buy only our negative goods, would immediately unite to cheat and exact upon us in the price, the measure, and the goodness, nor could ever yet be brought to make one fair proposal of just dealing, though often and earnestly invited to it.

Therefore I repeat, let no man talk to me of these and the like expedients, till he has at least some glimpse of hope, that there will be ever some hearty and sincere attempt to put them in practice.

But, as to myself, having been wearied out for many years with offering vain, idle, visionary thoughts, and

at length utterly despairing of success, I fortunately fell upon this proposal; which, as it is wholly new, so it has something solid and real, of no expense and little trouble, full in our own power, and whereby we can incur no danger in disobliging ENGLAND. For this kind of commodity will not bear exportation, the flesh being of too tender a consistence to admit a long continuance in salt, although perhaps I could name a country, which would be glad to eat up our whole nation without it.

After all, I am not so violently bent upon my own opinion as to reject any offer proposed by wise men, which shall be found equally innocent, cheap, easy, and effectual. But before something of that kind shall be advanced in contradiction to my scheme, and offering a better, I desire the author, or authors, will be pleased maturely to consider two points. First, as things now stand, how they will be able to find food and raiment for a hundred thousand useless mouths and backs. And, secondly, there being a round million of creatures in human figure throughout this kingdom, whose whole subsistence put into a common stock would leave them in debt two millions of pounds sterling, adding those who are beggars by profession, to the bulk of farmers, cottagers, and labourers, with the wives and children who are beggars in effect; I desire those politicians who dislike my overture, and may perhaps be so bold as to attempt an answer, that they will first ask the parents of these mortals, whether they would not at this day think it a great happiness to have been sold for food at a year old, in the manner I prescribe, and thereby have avoided such a perpetual scene of misfortunes, as they have since gone through, by the oppression of landlords.

the impossibility of paying rent without money or trade, the want of common sustenance, with neither house nor clothes to cover them from the inclemencies of the weather, and the most inevitable prospect of entailing the like, or greater miseries, upon their breed for ever.

I profess, in the sincerity of my heart, that I have not the least personal interest in endeavouring to promote this necessary work, having no other motive than the public good of my country, by advancing our trade, providing for infants, relieving the poor, and giving some pleasure to the rich. I have no children by which I can propose to get a single penny; the youngest being nine years old, and my wife past child-bearing.

THE SUBSTANCE

OF WHAT WAS SAID BY

THE DEAN OF ST PATRICK'S

TO

THE LORD MAYOR AND SOME OF THE ALDERMEN
OF DUBLIN ;

WHEN HIS LORDSHIP CAME TO PRESENT THE SAID DEAN WITH
HIS FREEDOM IN A GOLD BOX.

WHEN his Lordship had said a few words, and presented the instrument, the Dean gently put it back, and desired first to be heard. He said, "He was much obliged to his lordship and the city for the honour they were going to do him, and which, as he was informed, they had long intended him. That it was true, this honour was mingled with a little mortification by the delay which attended it, but which, however, he did not impute to his lordship or the city; and that the mortification was the less, because he would willingly hope the delay was founded on a mistake;—for which opinion he would tell his reason."

He said, "It was well known, that, some time ago,

a person* with a title was pleased, in two great assemblies, to rattle bitterly somebody without a name, under the injurious appellations of a Tory, a Jacobite, an enemy to King George, and a libeller of the government; which character," the Dean said, "many people thought was applied to him. But he was unwilling to be of that opinion; because the person who had delivered those abusive words, had, for several years, caressed, and courted, and solicited his friendship more than any man in either kingdom had ever done,—by inviting him to his

* The person here intimated, Joshua, Lord Allen, (whom Swift elsewhere satirizes under the name of Traulus,) was born in 1685. He is said to have been a weak and dissipated man; and some particulars are recorded by tradition concerning his marriage with Miss Du Pass, (whose father was clerk of the secretary of state's office in James the Second's reign, and died in India in 1699,) which do very little honour either to his heart or understanding.

It is reported, that being trepanned into a marriage with this lady, by a stratagem of the celebrated Lionel, Duke of Dorset, Lord Allen refused, for some time, to acknowledge her as his wife. But the lady, after living some time in close retirement, caused an advertisement to be inserted in the papers, stating the death of a brother in the East Indies, by which Miss Margaret Du Pass had succeeded to a large fortune. Accordingly, she put on mourning, and assumed an equipage conforming to her supposed change of fortune. Lord Allen's affairs being much deranged, he became now as anxious to prove the marriage with the wealthy heiress, as he had formerly been to disown the unportioned damsel; and succeeded, after such opposition as the lady judged necessary to give colour to the farce. Before the deceit was discovered, Lady Allen, by her good sense and talents, had obtained such ascendance over her husband, that they ever afterwards lived in great harmony.

Lord Allen was, at the time of giving offence to Swift, a privy-counsellor; and distinguished himself, according to Lodge, in the House of Peers, by his excellent speeches for the benefit of his country. He died at Stillorgan, 1742.

house in town and country,—by coming to the Deanery often, and calling or sending almost every day when the Dean was sick,—with many other particulars of the same nature, which continued even to a day or two of the time when the said person made those invectives in the council and House of Lords. Therefore, that the Dean would by no means think those scurrilous words could be intended against him; because such a proceeding would overthrow all the principles of honour, justice, religion, truth, and even common humanity. Therefore the Dean will endeavour to believe, that the said person had some other object in his thoughts, and it was only the uncharitable custom of the world that applied this character to him. However, that he would insist on this argument no longer. But one thing he would affirm and declare, without assigning any name, or making any exception, that whoever either did, or does, or shall hereafter, at any time, charge him with the character of a Jacobite, an enemy to King George, or a libeller of the government, the said accusation was, is, and will be, false, malicious, slanderous, and altogether groundless. And he would take the freedom to tell his lordship, and the rest that stood by, that he had done more service to the Hanover title, and more disservice to the Pretender's cause, than forty thousand of those noisy, railing, malicious, empty zealots, to whom nature has denied any talent that could be of use to God or their country, and left them only the gift of reviling, and spitting their venom, against all who differ from them in their destructive principles, both in church and state. That he confessed, it was sometimes his misfortune to dislike some things in public proceedings in both kingdoms, wherein he had the honour to agree with wise and good men;

but this did by no means affect either his loyalty to his prince, or love to his country. But, on the contrary, he protested, that such dislikes never arose in him from any other principles than the duty he owed to the king, and his affection to the kingdom. That he had been acquainted with courts and ministers long enough, and knew too well that the best ministers might mistake in points of great importance; and that he had the honour to know many more able, and at least full as honest, as any can be at present."

The Dean farther said, "That since he had been so falsely represented, he thought it became him to give some account of himself for above twenty years, if it were only to justify his lordship and the city for the honour they were going to do him." He related briefly, how, "merely by his own personal credit, without other assistance, and in two journeys at his expense, he had procured a grant of the first fruits to the clergy, in the late Queen's time, for which he thought he deserved some gentle treatment from his brethren. That, during all the administration of the said ministry, he had been a constant advocate for those who are called the Whigs,—had kept many of them in their employments both in England and here,—and some who were afterwards the first to lift up their heels against him." He reflected a little upon the severe treatment he had met with upon his return to Ireland after her majesty's death, and for some years after. "That being forced to live retired, he could think of no better way to do public service, than by employing all the little money he could save, and lending it, without interest, in small sums to poor industrious tradesmen, without examining their party or their faith. And God had so far pleased to bless his

endeavours, that his managers tell him he has recovered above two hundred families in this city from ruin, and placed most of them in a comfortable way of life."

The Dean related, how much he had suffered in his purse, and with what hazard to his liberty, by a most iniquitous judge; who, to gratify his ambition and rage of party, had condemned an innocent book, written with no worse a design, than to persuade the people of this kingdom to wear their own manufactures. How the said judge had endeavoured to get a jury to his mind; but they proved so honest, that he was forced to keep them eleven hours, and send them back nine times; until, at last, they were compelled to leave the printer to the mercy of the court, and the Dean was forced to procure a *noli prosequi* from a noble person, then secretary of state, who had been his old friend.

The Dean then freely confessed himself to be the author of those books called "The Drapier's Letters;" and spoke gently of the proclamation, offering three hundred pounds to discover the writer. He said, "That although a certain person was pleased to mention those books in a slight manner at a public assembly, yet he (the Dean) had learned to believe, that there were ten thousand to one in the kingdom who differed from that person; and the people of England, who had ever heard of the matter, as well as in France, were all of the same opinion."

The Dean mentioned several other particulars, some of which those from whom I had the account could not recollect; and others, although of great consequence, perhaps his enemies would not allow him.

The Dean concluded, with acknowledging to have expressed his wishes, that an inscription might have been

graven on the box, shewing some reason why the city thought fit to do him that honour, which was much out of the common forms to a person in a private station;—those distinctions being usually made only to chief governors, or persons in very high employments.

ADVERTISEMENT BY DR SWIFT,

IN HIS

DEFENCE AGAINST JOSHUA, LORD ALLEN,

Feb. 18, 1729.

“ **W**HEREAS Dr Jonathan Swift, Dean of St Patrick’s, Dublin, hath been credibly informed, that, on Friday the 13th of this instant February, a certain person did, in a public place, and in the hearing of a great number, apply himself to the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor of this city, and some of his brethren, in the following reproachful manner: ‘ My lord, you and your city can squander away the public money, in giving a gold box to a fellow who has libelled the government!’ or words to that effect.

“ Now, if the said words, or words to the like effect, were intended against him the said Dean, and as a reflection on the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and commons, for the decreeing unanimously, and in full assembly, the freedom of this city to the said Dean, in an honourable manner, on account of an opinion they had conceived of some services done by him the said Dean to this city, and to the kingdom in general,—the said Dean doth declare, That the said words, or words to the like

effect, are insolent, false, scandalous, malicious, and, in a particular manner, perfidious; the said person, who is reported to have spoken the said or the like words, having, for some years past, and even within some few days, professed a great friendship for the said Dean; and, what is hardly credible, sending a common friend of the Dean and himself, not many hours after the said or the like words had been spoken, to renew his profession of friendship to the said Dean, but concealing the oratory; whereof the Dean had no account till the following day, and then told it to all his friends."

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VINDICATION

OF

HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN, LORD CARTERET,

FROM

THE CHARGE OF FAVOURING NONE BUT TORIES, HIGH-
CHURCHMEN, AND JACOBITES. 1730.

Lord Carteret, who had long headed a party in the cabinet against the influence of Walpole, now held the situation of Lord-lieutenant in Ireland, under very precarious circumstances. He was suspected of having inflamed the dispute concerning Wood's patent, by cabaling with the Brodericks; and Walpole, ingenious in his revenge, contrived to have him sent as Lord-lieutenant to Ireland, for the very purpose of carrying through that measure. Carteret could only prevent his utter disgrace at Court by accepting this painful preferment, and the reader has already seen how much he was embarrassed in the task imposed upon him. When Wood's patent was resigned, Lord Carteret was still permitted to retain the nominal authority, while the real government of Ireland was vested in Dr Hugh Boulter, who had been advanced from the Bishopric of Bristol to be Primate of Ireland. Thus employed, without being either favoured or trusted, the Lord-lieutenant's situation was rendered still more difficult by the accuracy with which all his motions were watched, and the invidious eagerness by which his attachment to Swift, and other men of his party, was construed into an encouragement of disaffection to the government. To counteract these insinuations, is the object of the Dean's humorous vindication.

IN order to treat this important subject with the greatest fairness and impartiality, perhaps it may be conve-

nient to give some account of his excellency ; in whose life and character there are certain particulars, which might give a very just suspicion of some truth in the accusation he lies under.

He is descended from two noble, ancient, and most loyal families, the Carterets and the Granvilles : too much distinguished, I confess, for what they acted, and what they suffered, in defending the former constitution in church and state, under King Charles the martyr : I mean that very prince, on account of whose martyrdom a form of prayer, with fasting, was enjoined by act of Parliament to be used on the 30th day of January every year, to implore the mercies of God, that the guilt of that sacred and innocent blood might not be visited on us or our posterity ; as we may read at large in our Common Prayer Books ; which day has been solemnly kept, even within the memory of many men now alive.

His excellency, the present lord, was educated in the University of Oxford ; * from whence, with a singularity scarce to be justified, he carried away more Greek, Latin, and philosophy, than properly became a person of his rank ; indeed much more of each than most of those who are forced to live by their learning, will be at the unnecessary pains to load their heads with.

This was the rock he split on, upon his first appearance in the world, and having just got clear of his guardians. For, as soon as he came to town, some bishops and clergymen, and other persons most eminent for learning and parts, got him among them ; from whom, al-

* In Christ-Church College, to which his lordship removed from Westminster at an early age.

though he was fortunately dragged by a lady and the Court, yet he could never wipe off the stain, nor wash out the tincture of his university acquirements and dispositions.

To this another misfortune was added, that it pleased God to endow him with great natural talents, memory, judgment, comprehension, eloquence, and wit ; and, to finish the work, all these were fortified, even in his youth, with the advantages received by such employments as are best fitted both to exercise and polish the gifts of nature and education,—having been ambassador in several courts, when his age would hardly allow him to take a degree ; and made principal Secretary of State at a period when, according to custom, he ought to have been busied in losing his money at a chocolate-house, or in other amusements equally laudable and epidemic, among persons of honour.

I cannot omit another weak-side in his excellency. For it is known, and can be proved upon him, that Greek and Latin books might be found every day in his dressing-room, if it were carefully searched ; and there is reason to suspect, that some of the said books have been privately conveyed to him by Tory hands. I am likewise assured, that he has been taken in the very fact of reading the said books, even in the midst of a session, to the great neglect of public affairs.*

* Of this Mr Sheridan affords us a remarkable instance.

“ On the appointment of Lord Carteret to the government of Ireland, who had been one of his old friends, Dr Sheridan was one of the first recommended to his protection. He got him appointed one of his domestic chaplains, with a promise of making a provision for him in the church. Lord Carteret, who was himself an excellent

I own, there may be some grounds for this charge: because I have it from good hands, that when his excellency is at dinner with one or two scholars at his elbows, he grows a most insupportable and unintelligible companion to all the fine gentlemen round the table.

I cannot deny, that his excellency lies under another very great disadvantage; for, with all the accomplishments above-mentioned, adding that of a most comely and graceful person, and during the prime of youth, spirits, and vigour, he has in a most unexemplary manner led a regular domestic life; discovers a great esteem, and friendship, and love for his lady, as well as true affection for his children; and when he is disposed to ad-

scholar, soon distinguished the doctor's merit in that line; nor was he less pleased with him as a companion, often inviting him to his private parties; and sometimes, laying his state aside, he would steal out from the castle in a hackney-chair to pass the evening at Sheridan's with Swift, and the select set who used to meet there. By desire of the Lord-lieutenant, the doctor had one of the tragedies of Sophocles performed by his scholars for his entertainment. Before the day of exhibition, Lord Carteret appointed a morning to pass with him in reading the play together, in order to refresh his memory after so long an absence from his Greek studies. The doctor was astonished at the facility and accuracy with which he translated this difficult author, having scarce any opportunity of giving him assistance through the whole play. While he was expressing his surprise at this, and admiration at the wonderful knowledge which his lordship shewed of the Greek language, Lord Carteret, with great candour, told him, he would let him into the secret how he came to be so far master of this particular author. He said, that when he was envoy in Denmark, he had been for a long time confined to his chamber, partly by illness, and partly by the severity of the weather; and having but few books with him, he had read Sophocles over and over so often as to be able almost to repeat the whole *verbatim*, which impressed it ever after indelibly on his memory."—*Sheridan's Life of Swift.*

mit an entertaining evening companion, he does not always enough reflect, whether the person may possibly in former days have lain under the imputation of a Tory; nor at such times do the natural or affected fears of Popery and the Pretender make any part of the conversation; I presume, because neither Homer, Plato, Aristotle, nor Cicero, have made any mention of them.

These I freely acknowledge to be his excellency's failings: yet, I think, it is agreed by philosophers and divines, that some allowance ought to be given to human infirmity, and to the prejudices of a wrong education.

I am well aware how much my sentiments differ from the orthodox opinions of one or two principal patriots, at the head of whom I name with honour Pistorides;* for these have decided the matter directly against me, by declaring, that no person who was ever known to lie under the suspicion of one single Tory principle, or who had been once seen at a great man's levee in the worst of times,† should be allowed to come within the verge of the Castle; much less to bow in the antichamber, appear at the assemblies, or dance at a birth-night. However, I dare assert, that this maxim

* Richard Tighe, Esq. incurred the remorseless ridicule of the Dean, by being the person who officiously informed Lord Carteret of Sheridan's unfortunate choice of a text for the anniversary of Queen Anne's death, by which the Doctor lost his appointment as chaplain to the Lord-lieutenant. Tighe is in this tract called Pistorides, and in the Legion Club denominated Dick Fitzbaker, in allusion to his descent from a contractor who supplied Cromwell's army with bread.

† The four last years of Queen Anne, when Lord Oxford was minister, was so called by the Whigs.—H

has been often controlled ; and that, on the contrary, a considerable number of early penitents have been received into grace, who are now an ornament, happiness, and support to the nation.

Neither do I find any murmuring on some other points of greater importance, where this favourite maxim is not so strictly observed.

To instance only in one. I have not heard that any care has hitherto been taken to discover whether *Madame Violante** be a Whig or Tory in her principles; or even that she has ever been offered the oaths to government; on the contrary, I am told that she openly professes herself to be a high-flyer; and it is not improbable, by her outlandish name, she may also be a papist in her heart; yet we see this illustrious and dangerous female, openly caressed by principal persons of both parties, who contribute to support her in a splendid manner, without the least apprehensions from a grand jury, or even from *Squire Hartley Hutcheson†* himself, that zealous prosecutor of hawkers and libels: and, as *Hobbes* wisely observes, so much money being equivalent to so much power, it may deserve considering, with what safety such an instrument of power ought to be trusted in the hands of an alien, who has not given any legal security for her good affection to the government.

I confess, there is one evil which I could wish our friends would think proper to redress. There are many Whigs in this kingdom of the old-fashioned stamp, of whom we might make very good use. They bear the

* A famous Italian rope-dancer.—H.

† A Justice of Peace, who afterwards gave Swift farther provocation.

same loyalty with us to the Hanoverian family, in the person of King George the II.; the same abhorrence of the Pretender, with the consequences of popery and slavery; and the same indulgence to tender consciences: but having nothing to ask for themselves, and therefore the more leisure to think for the public, they are often apt to entertain fears and melancholy prospects concerning the state of their country, the decay of trade, the want of money, the miserable condition of the people, with other topics of the like nature; all which do equally concern both Whig and Tory; who, if they have anything to lose, must be equally sufferers. Perhaps one or two of these melancholy gentlemen will sometimes venture to publish their thoughts in print: now, I can by no means approve our usual custom of cursing and railing at this species of thinkers, under the names of Tories, jacobites, papists, libellers, rebels, and the like.

This was the utter ruin of that poor, hungry, bustling, well-meaning mortal Pistorides, who lies equally under the contempt of both parties; with no other difference than a mixture of pity on one side, and of aversion on the other.

How has he been pelted, pestered, and pounded, by one single wag, who promises never to forsake him, living or dead!*

I was much pleased with the humour of a surgeon in this town, who having, in his own apprehension, received some great injustice from the Earl of Galway,

* In a letter to Sheridan, 25th September 1725, the Dean exhorts his friend to avenge himself on Tighe, "the beast who had kicked him," and promises his assistance. Accordingly, he was a distinguished mark of Swift's satire upon every possible occasion.

and despairing of revenge as well as relief, declared to all his friends, that he had set apart one hundred guineas to purchase the Earl's carcass from the sexton, whenever it should die, to make a skeleton of the bones, stuff the hide, and shew them for threepence ; and thus get vengeance for the injuries he had suffered by its owner.

Of the like spirit too often is that implacable race of wits, against whom there is no defence but innocence and philosophy, neither of which is likely to be at hand ; and, therefore, the wounded have no where to fly for a cure, but to downright stupidity, a crazed head, or a profligate contempt of guilt and shame.

I am therefore sorry for that other miserable creature Traulus ;* who, although of somewhat a different species, yet seems very far to outdo even the genius of Pistorides, in that miscarrying talent of railing, without consistency or discretion, against the most innocent persons, according to the present situation of his gall and spleen. I do not blame an honest gentleman, for the bitterest invectives against one to whom he professes the greatest friendship, provided he acts in the dark so as not to be discovered : but in the midst of caresses, visits, and invitations, to run into the streets, or to as public a place, and without the least pretended incitement, sputter out the basest and falsest accusations, then to wipe his mouth, come up smiling to his friend, shake him by the hand, and tell him in a whisper, it was all for his service. This proceeding, I am

* Joshua, Lord Allen. For the ground of the charge here made, see substance of Swift's speech to the mayor and aldermen, and the subsequent advertisement.

bold to think, a great failure in prudence : and I am afraid lest such a practitioner, with a body so open, so foul, and so full of sores, may fall under the resentment of an incensed political surgeon, who is not in much renown for his mercy, upon great provocations : who, without waiting for his death, will flay and dissect him alive ; and to the view of mankind lay open all the disordered cells of his brain, the venom of his tongue, the corruption of his heart, and spots and flatuses of his spleen ; and all this for threepence.*

In such a case, what a scene would be laid open ! and, to drop my metaphor, what a character of our mistaken friend might an angry enemy draw and expose ! particularizing that unnatural conjunction of vices and follies, so inconsistent with each other in the same breast : furious and fawning, scurrilous and flattering, cowardly and provoking, insolent and abject ; most profligately false, with the strongest professions of sincerity ; positive and variable, tyrannical and slavish.

I apprehend, that if all this should be set out to the world, by an angry Whig of the old stamp, the unavoidable consequence must be, a confinement of our friend for some months more to his garret ; and thereby depriving the public for so long a time, and in so important a juncture, of his useful talents in their service, while he is fed like a wild beast through a hole ; but I hope with a special regard to the quantity and quality of his nourishment.

In vain would his excusers endeavour to palliate his enormities, by imputing them to madness ; because it is well known, that madness only operates by inflaming

* See the Poem called Traulus.

and enlarging the good or evil dispositions of the mind.* For the curators of Bedlam assure us, that some lunatics are persons of honour, truth, benevolence, and many other virtues, which appear in their highest ravings, although after a wild incoherent manner; while others, on the contrary, discover in every word and action, the utmost baseness and depravity of human minds; which infallibly they possessed in the same degree, although perhaps under a better regulation, before their entrance into that academy.

But it may be objected, that there is an argument of much force, to excuse the overflowings of that zeal which our friend shews or means for our cause. And, it must be confessed, that the easy and smooth fluency of his elocution, bestowed on him by nature, and cultivated by continual practice, added to the comeliness of his person, the harmony of his voice, the gracefulness of his manner, and the decency of his dress, are temptations too strong for such a genius to resist, upon any public occasion of making them appear with universal applause. And if good men are sometimes accused of loving their jest better than their friend; surely to gain the reputation of the first orator in the kingdom, no man of spirit would scruple to lose all the friends he had in the world.

It is usual for masters to make their boys declaim on both sides of an argument; and as some kinds of assemblies are called the schools of politics, I confess nothing can better improve political school-boys, than

* In the satire of Traulus, one of the speakers defends Lord Allen against the accusations of the other, by pleading his madness.

the art of making plausible or implausible harangues, against the very opinion for which they resolve to determine.

So Cardinal Perron, after having spoke for an hour, to the admiration of all his hearers, to prove the existence of God, told some of his intimates, that he could have spoken another hour, and much better, to prove the contrary.

I have placed this reasoning in the strongest light that I think it will bear ; and have nothing to answer, but that, allowing it as much weight as the reader shall please, it has constantly met with ill success in the mouth of our friend ; but whether for want of good luck, or good management, I suspend my judgment.

To return from this long digression : If persons in higher stations have been allowed to choose wenches without regard even to difference in religion, yet never incurred the least reflection on their loyalty or their protestantism, shall the chief governor of a great kingdom be censured for choosing a companion, who may formerly have been suspected for differing from the orthodox in some speculative opinions of persons and things, which cannot affect the fundamental principles of a sound Whig ?

But let me suppose a very possible case. Here is a person sent to govern Ireland, whose unfortunate weak-side it happens to be, for several reasons above mentioned, that he has encouraged the attendance of one or two gentlemen distinguished for their taste, their wit, and their learning ; who have taken the oaths to his Majesty, and pray heartily for him ; yet, because they may perhaps be stigmatized as *quondam* Tories by Pistorides and his gang, his excellency must be forced to banish

them, under the pain and peril of displeasing the zealots of his own party; and thereby be put into a worse condition than every common good fellow, who may be a sincere protestant and a loyal subject, and yet rather choose to drink fine ale at the Pope's head, than muddy at the King's.

Let me then return to my suppositions. It is certain the high-flown loyalists, in the present sense of the word, have their thoughts, and studies, and tongues, so entirely diverted by political schemes, that the zeal of their principles has eaten up their understandings; neither have they time from their employments, their hopes, and their hourly labours, for acquiring new additions of merit, to amuse themselves with philological converse or speculations, which are utterly ruinous to all schemes of rising in the world. What then must a great man do, whose ill stars have fatally perverted him to a love, and taste, and possession of literature, politeness, and good sense? Our thoroughsped republic of Whigs, which contains the bulk of all hoppers, pretenders, expecters, and professors, are beyond all doubt most highly useful to princes, to governors, to great ministers, and to their country; but at the same time, and by necessary consequence, the most disagreeable companions to all who have that unfortunate turn of mind peculiar to his excellency, and perhaps to five or six more in a nation.

I do not deny it possible, that an original or proselyte favourite of the times, might have been born to those useless talents, which in former ages qualified a man to be a poet or a philosopher. All I contend for is, that where the true genius of party once enters, it sweeps the house clean, and leaves room for many other spirits to

take joint possession, until the last state of that man is exceedingly better than the first.

I allow it a great error in his excellency, that he adheres so obstinately to his old unfashionable academic education ; yet so perverse is human nature, that the usual remedies for this evil in others have produced a contrary effect in him ; to a degree, that I am credibly informed he will, as I have already hinted, in the middle of a session, quote passages out of Plato and Pindar at his own table, to some book-learned companion, without blushing, even when persons of great stations are by.

I will venture one step farther, which is freely to confess, that this mistaken method of educating youth in the knowledge of ancient learning and language, is too apt to spoil their politics and principles ; because the doctrine and examples of the books they read, teach them lessons directly contrary in every point to the present practice of the world : and accordingly Hobbes most judiciously observes, that the writings of the Greeks and Romans made young men imbibe opinions against absolute power in a prince, or even in a first-minister, and embrace notions of liberty and property.

It has been therefore a great felicity in these kingdoms, that the heirs to titles and large estates have a weakness in their eyes, a tenderness in their constitutions ; are not able to bear the pain and indignity of whipping ; and as the mother rightly expresses it, could never take to their books ; yet are well enough qualified to sign a receipt for half a year's rent, to put their names (rightly spelt) to a warrant, and to read pamphlets against religion and high-flying ; whereby they fill their niches, and carry themselves through the world

with that dignity which best becomes a senator and a squire.*

I could heartily wish his excellency would be more condescending to the genius of the kingdom he governs, to the condition of the times, and to the nature of the station he fills. Yet if it be true, what I have read in old English story-books, that one Agesilaus (no matter to the bulk of my readers whether I spell the name right or wrong) was caught by the parson of the parish riding on a hobby-horse with his children; that Socrates, a heathen philosopher, was found dancing by himself at fourscore; that a king, called Cæsar Augustus (or some such name,) used to play with boys, whereof some might possibly be sons of Tories; and that two great men, called Scipio and Lælius (I forget their Christian names, and whether they were poets or generals) often played at duck and drake with smooth stones on a river: Now, I say, if these facts be true (and the book where I found them is in print), I cannot imagine why our most zealous patriots may not a little indulge his excellency in an infirmity, which is not morally evil; provided he gives no public scandal, which is by all means to be avoided: I say, why he may not be indulged twice a week to converse with one or two particular persons, and let him and them con over their old exploded readings together, after mornings spent in hearing and prescribing ways and means from and to his most obedient politicians, for the welfare of the kingdom; although the said particular person or persons may not

* The reader may compare what is stated in these two paragraphs with the same opinion expressed by the author in the Public Spirit of the Whigs.

have made so public a declaration of their political faith in all its parts, as the business of the nation requires, still submitting my opinion to that happy majority, which I am confident is always in the right; by whom the liberty of the subject has been so frequently, so strenuously, and so successfully asserted; who, by their wise counsels, have made commerce to flourish, money to abound, inhabitants to increase, the value of lands and rents to rise, and the whole island put on a new face of plenty and prosperity.

But, in order to clear his excellency more fully from this accusation of shewing his favours to high-flyers, Tories, and jacobites, it will be necessary to come to particulars.

The first person of a Tory denomination, to whom his excellency gave any marks of his favour, was Doctor Thomas Sheridan. It is to be observed, that this happened so early in his excellency's government, as it may be justly supposed he had not been informed of that gentleman's character upon so dangerous an article. The doctor being well known, and distinguished for his skill and success in the education of youth, beyond most of his profession for many years past, was recommended to his excellency on the score of his learning, and particularly for his knowledge in the Greek tongue; whereof, it seems, his excellency is a great admirer, although for what reasons I could never imagine. However, it is agreed on all hands, that his lordship was too easily prevailed on by the doctor's request, or indeed rather from the bias of his own nature, to hear a tragedy acted in that unknown language by the doctor's lads,* which

* See a preceding note.

was written by some heathen author ; but whether it contained any Tory or High-church principles, must be left to the consciences of the boys, the doctor, and his excellency ; the only witnesses in this case whose testimonies can be depended upon.

It seems his excellency (a thing never to be sufficiently wondered at) was so pleased with his entertainment, that some time after he gave the doctor a church living to the value of almost one hundred pounds a-year, and made him one of his chaplains ; from an antiquated notion, that good schoolmasters ought to be encouraged in every nation professing civility and religion. Yet his excellency did not venture to take this bold step without strong recommendations from persons of undoubted principles fitted to the times ; who thought themselves bound in justice, honour, and gratitude, to do the doctor a good office, in return for the care he had taken of their children, or of those of their friends.* Yet the catastrophe was terrible ; for the doctor, in the height of his felicity and gratitude, going down to take possession of his parish, and furnished with a few led sermons, whereof as it is to be supposed the number was very small, having never served a cure in the church, he stopped at Cork to attend on his bishop ; and going to church on the Sunday following, was, according to the usual civility of country clergymen, invited by the minister of the parish to supply the pulpit. It happened to be the first of August ; and the first of August happened that year to light upon a Sunday : and it happened that the doctor's text was in these words : " Sufficient

* Mr Tickell and Mr Ballaquer.

unto the day is the evil thereof :”* and lastly, it happened that some one person of the congregation, whose loyalty made him watchful upon every appearance of danger to his Majesty’s person and government, when service was over, gave the alarm. Notice was immediately sent up to town ; and by the zeal of one man of no large dimensions of body or mind,† such a clamour was raised, that we in Dublin could apprehend no less than an invasion by the Pretender, who must be landed in the south. The result was, that the doctor must be struck out of the chaplains’ list, and appear no more at the Castle ; yet whether he were then, or be at this day, a Whig or a Tory, I think is a secret ; only it is manifest that he is a zealous Hanoverian, at least in poetry,‡ and a great

* The first of August is the anniversary of the Hanoverian family’s accession to the crown of Great Britain.—H.

Swift severely upbraids Sheridan with this gross imprudence in his *History of Solomon the Second*.

† Richard Tighe aforesaid.

‡ This is a sneer at a poem by Sheridan, of which his friend did not highly approve. “ Having lain many years under the obloquy of a high Tory and a Jacobite, upon the present Queen’s birth-day, he (Dr Sheridan) writ a song to be performed before the government and those who attended them, in praise of the Queen and King, on the common topics of her beauty, wit, family, love of England, and all other virtues, wherein the King and the royal children were sharers. It was very hard to avoid the common topics. A young collegian who had done the same job the year before, got some reputation on account of his wit. Solomon would needs vie with him, by which he lost all the esteem of his old friends the Tories, and got not the least interest with the Whigs, for they are now too strong to want advocates of that kind ; and, therefore, one of the lords-justices reading the verses in some company, said, “ Ah ! doctor, this shall not do.” His name was at length in the title-page ; and he did this without the knowledge or advice of one living soul, as he himself confesseth.” *History of the Second Solomon*.

admirer of the present royal family through all its branches. His friends likewise assert, that he had preached this sermon often under the same text; that not having observed the words till he was in the pulpit, and had opened his notes, as he is a person a little abstracted, he wanted presence of mind to change them: and that in the whole sermon there was not a syllable relating to government or party, or to the subject of the day.

In this incident there seems to have been a union of events that will probably never happen again to the end of the world; or is, at least, like the grand conjunction in the heavens; which, I think, they say can arrive but once in twenty thousand years.

The second gentleman (if I am right in my chronology,) who, under the suspicion of a Tory, received some favour from his excellency, is Mr James Stopford; very strongly recommended by the most eminent Whig in England, on the account of his learning and virtue, and other accomplishments. He had passed the greatest part of his youth in close study, or in travelling; and was neither not at home, or not at leisure to trouble his thoughts about party; which I allow to be a great omission, although I cannot honestly place him in the list of Tories; and therefore think his excellency may be fairly acquitted for making him Vicar of Finglass, worth about one hundred pounds a-year.

The third is Doctor Patrick Delany. This divine lies under some disadvantage; having in his youth received many civilities from a certain person,* then in a

* Sir Constantine Phipps, Lord Chancellor of Ireland when Queen Anne died.—H.

very high station here ; for which reason I doubt the doctor never drank his confusion since ; and what makes the matter desperate, it is now too late, unless our inquisitors will be content with drinking confusion to his memory. The aforesaid eminent person, who was a judge of all merit, except that of party, distinguished the doctor, among other juniors in our university, for his learning, virtue, discretion, and good sense. But the doctor was then in too good a situation at his college, to hope or endeavour at a better establishment, from one who had no power to give it him.

Upon the present Lord-lieutenant's going over, the doctor was named to his excellency by a friend,* among other clergy of distinction, as persons whose characters it was proper his excellency should know ; and by the truth of which the giver would be content to stand or fall in his excellency's opinion ; since not one of those persons were in particular friendship with the gentleman who gave in their names. By this, and some other incidents, particularly the recommendation of the late Archbishop of Dublin, the doctor became known to his excellency ; whose fatal turn of mind toward heathenish and outlandish books and languages, finding, as I conceive, a like disposition in the doctor, was the cause of his becoming so domestic, as we are told he is, at the Castle of Dublin.

Three or four years ago, the doctor, grown weary of an academic life, for some reasons best known to the managers of the discipline in that learned society (which

* The author.—H.

it may not be for their honour to mention),* resolved to leave it; although, by the benefit of the pupils, and his senior fellowship, with all its perquisites, he received every year between nine hundred and a thousand pounds. And a small northern living, in the university's donation, of somewhat better than one hundred pounds a-year, falling at the same time with the chancellorship of Christ-church, to about equal the value, in the gift of his excellency, the doctor ventured into the world in a very scanty condition; having squandered away all his annual income in a manner, which, although perhaps proper enough for a clergyman without a family, will not be for the advantage of his character to discover, either on the exchange or at a banker's shop.

About two months ago, his excellency gave the doctor a prebend in St Patrick's cathedral; which being of near the same value with either of the two former, will add a third part to his revenues, after he shall have paid the great incumbrances upon it; so that he may now be said to possess of church preferments, in scattered tithes, three hundred pounds a-year; instead of the like sum of infallible rents from a senior fellowship, with the offices annexed; beside the advantage of a free lodging, a great number of pupils, and some other easements.

But since the doctor has not, in any of his writings, his sermons, his actions, his discourse, or his company, discovered one single principle of either Whig or Tory,

* In 1724, two under-graduates were expelled from Trinity College for alleged insolence to the provost. Dr Delany espoused their cause with such warmth that it drew upon him very inconvenient consequences, and he was at length obliged to give satisfaction to the college by a formal acknowledgment of his offence.

and that the Lord-lieutenant still continues to admit him, I shall boldly pronounce him ONE OF US : but, like a new free-mason, who has not learned all the dialect of the mystery. Neither can he justly be accused of any Tory doctrines ; except perhaps some among those few, with which that wicked party was charged during the height of their power, but have been since transferred, for the most solid reasons, to the whole body of our firmest friends.

I have now done with the clergy : and, upon the strictest examination, have not been able to find above one of that order, against whom any party suspicion can lie ; I mean the unfortunate gentleman Doctor Sheridan, who, by mere chance-medley, shot his own fortune dead with a single text.

As to the laity, I can hear but of one person of the Tory stamp, who, since the beginning of his excellency's government, did ever receive any solid mark of his favour ; I mean Sir Arthur Acheson, reported to be an acknowledged Tory ; and what is almost as bad, a scholar into the bargain. It is whispered about, as a certain truth, that this gentleman is to have a grant of a certain barrack* upon his estate, within two miles of his own house ; for which the Crown is to be his tenant, at the rent of sixty pounds per annum ; he being only at the expense of about five hundred pounds, to put the house in repair, build stables, and other necessaries. I will place this invidious mark of beneficence conferred

* This was nothing else than the project of converting Hamilton's Bawn into a barrack, which gave rise to one of Swift's most lively poems.

on a Tory in a fair light, by computing the costs and necessary defalcations: after which it may be seen how much Sir Arthur will be annually a clear gainer by the public; notwithstanding his unfortunate principles, and his knowledge in Greek and Latin.

For repairs, &c. L.500, the interest where- of per annum,	L.30 0 0
For all manner of poultry to furnish the troopers, but which the said troopers must be at the labour of catching, valued per annum,	5 0 0
For straggling sheep,	8 0 0
For game destroyed five miles round,	6 0 0
	<hr/>
	49 0 0
Rent paid to Sir Arthur,	60 0 0
Deduct	49 0 0
	<hr/>
Remains clear,	L.11 0 0
	<hr/>

Thus if Sir Arthur Acheson shall have the good fortune to obtain a grant of this barrack, he will receive net profit annually from the Crown ELEVEN pounds sterling, to help him in entertaining the officers, and making provisions for his younger children.

It is true, there is another advantage to be expected, which may fully compensate the loss of cattle and poultry; by multiplying the breed of mankind, and particularly that of good Protestants, in a part of the kingdom half depopulated by the wild humour among the

farmers there, of leaving their country. But I am not so skilful in arithmetic as to compute the value.

I have reckoned one per cent. below the legal interest for the money that Sir Arthur must expend, and valued the damage in the other articles very moderately. However, I am confident he may with good management be a saver at least; which is a prodigious instance of moderation in our friends toward a professed Tory; whatever merit he may pretend, by the unwillingness he has shewn to make his excellency uneasy in his administration.

Thus I have, with the utmost impartiality, collected every single favour, (farther than personal civilities) conferred by his excellency on Tories, and reputed Tories, since his first arrival here, to the 30th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1730, giving all allowance possible to the arguments on the other side of the question; and the account will stand thus:—

Disposed of preferments and employments to Tories, or reputed Tories, by his Excellency John, Lord Carteret, Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, in about the space of six years:—

To Doctor Thomas Sheridan, in a rectory near Kinsale, per annum,	100	0	0
To Sir Arthur Acheson, baronet, a barrack, per annum,	11	0	0
	<hr/>		
	111	0	0
	<hr/>		

Give me leave now to compute in gross the value of the favours done by his excellency to the true friends of their king and country, and of the Protestant religion.

It is to be remembered, that although his excellency cannot be properly said to bestow bishoprics, commands in the army, the place of a judge, or commissioner in the revenue and some others; yet they are for the most part disposed upon his recommendation, except where the persons are immediately sent from England by their interest at court; for which I have allowed great defalcations in the following accounts. And it is remarkable, that the only considerable station conferred on a Tory since his present excellency's government, was of this latter kind.

And, indeed, it is but too notorious, that in a neighbouring nation, (where this dangerous denomination of men is incomparably more numerous, more powerful, and of consequence more formidable,) real Tories can often with much less difficulty obtain very high favours from the government, than their reputed brethren can arrive to the lowest in ours. I observe this with all possible submission to the wisdom of their policy; which, however, will not, I believe, dispute the praise of vigilance with ours.

WHIG Account.

To persons promoted to bishoprics, or removed to more beneficial ones, computed per annum,	10050	0	0
To civil employments,	9030	0	0
To military commands,	8436	0	0
	<hr/>		
Amount of the Whig account,	27516	0	0

TORY Account.

To Tories,	111	0	0
Balance,	27405	0	0

I shall conclude with the observation, that as I think the Tories have sufficient reason to be fully satisfied with the share of trust, power, and employment, which they possess under the lenity of the present government; so I do not find how his excellency can be justly censured for favouring none but high-church, highfliers, termagants, laudists, sacheverellians, tiptopgallantmen, jacobites, tantivies, antihanoverians, friends to Popery and the Pretender, and to arbitrary power, disobligers of England, breakers of DEPENDENCY, inflamers of quarrels between the two nations, public incendiaries, enemies to the King and kingdoms, haters of TRUE protestants, laurelmen, annists, complainers of the nation's poverty, ormondians, iconoclasts, antiglorious-memorists, antirevolutioners, white-rosalists, tenth-a-junians, and the like;* when, by a fair state of the account, the balance, I conceive, seems to lie on the other side.

* This string of epithets, bestowed upon the Tories, and opponents of administration in Ireland, is in general sufficiently intelligible. The term Iconoclasts, or image-breakers, is bestowed on those who defaced the statue of King William. Churchill's lines preserve the memory of the badge worn by the partizans of Stuart on the Pretender's birth-day.

"One white rose,
Which, on the tenth of June, by instinct blows."

AN ANSWER

TO THE CRAFTSMAN OF DECEMBER 12, 1730.

ON A VERY INTERESTING SUBJECT RELATIVE TO IRELAND.

To which is prefixed the Craftsman itself.

THE CRAFTSMAN.

No. 232.

Saturday, Dec. 12, 1730.

THE following article, which has lately appeared in the newspapers, deserves our immediate consideration, viz.

“ They write from Dublin, that an officer from every regiment in the French service is arrived there in order to raise recruits for their respective corps ; which is not to be done in a clandestine manner, as formerly, (when several persons suffered death for it,) but publicly. These gentlemen are to disperse themselves into the several counties, where they have the best interest ; and a field-officer is ready to reside constantly at Dublin, to hear all complaints which may be made by any of the recruits against their officers ; and also to prepare for sending them off. Count Broglio has been soliciting an order to this purpose these two years.”

When I first read this account in the public prints, I looked upon it as a common piece of false intelligence,

and was in full expectation of seeing it contradicted in the next day's papers, according to frequent custom ; but having since heard it confidently affirmed to be true, (although I can hardly yet believe it, especially as to every part) the duty which I owe my country, and my zeal for the present establishment, oblige me to take some notice of an affair, which I apprehend to be of very great importance to both.

It will be necessary, in the first place, to give the reader a short account of the nature of these troops, as they are now established in France.

They consist, as we have been informed, of one regiment of horse, and five regiments of foot, all doubly or trebly officered ; so that they are of themselves a very considerable body of men.

But their number is the least point to be considered in this affair. There are other circumstances, which render these troops infinitely more formidable to Great Britain. They are not only all Roman Catholics, but the most dangerous of that communion with respect to us, —I mean Roman Catholic subjects of our dominions ; many of whom have been obliged to fly their native country, on account of rebellions and conspiracies in which they have been engaged ; and all of them devoted by inclination, by interest, by conscience, by every motive human and divine, to the service of the Pretender, in opposition to the Protestant succession in his Majesty's royal family.

To this we may add, that they are generally esteemed the best forces in the French service ; that they have always behaved themselves as such in the late wars ; and are commanded by officers of approved courage, as well as great skill and experience in military affairs.

It is said, likewise, that the serjeants, corporals, and private men, are so well seasoned to danger, and expert in their duty, that by a gradual promotion, they could furnish officers for a very formidable army, in case of any sudden invasion or insurrection.

In the next place, it will not be improper to examine this affair with regard to our laws.

It is made felony, by act of Parliament in Ireland, for any subject of that kingdom to enlist himself, or to enlist others, in the service of any foreign state ; and it is well known that multitudes of poor wretches have suffered death upon that account.

We know it may be said, that a power is reserved to his Majesty, by a clause in that act, to dispense with it, by granting any foreign prince a licence to raise forces in his dominions, and indemnifying his subjects from the penalties of the law.

Although it is far from my intention to dispute any of his Majesty's legal prerogatives, or to call the wisdom of the legislature in question, yet I must take the liberty to observe, that such powers have been sometimes granted out of complaisance to the Crown, that the prince's hands may not be absolutely tied up, and in full confidence that they will never be exerted but for the benefit of this nation, or possibly of some Protestant ally, upon great emergencies of state. The exercise of the prerogative, in these cases, is therefore merely a prudential part, which is left to the discretion of the prince and his ministers, who ought always to be supposed the best judges of these affairs ; and therefore how ridiculous would it be to send to the Attorney-General for his opinion in such a case, who can be a competent judge of nothing but the legality of it, and whether the

affair be actionable or not ; but ministers ought to regulate their conduct in these respects, according to the situation of affairs, and the exigencies of government.

I must therefore beg leave to consider the present subject of the Irish forces in this light.

It will not be denied, I presume, that a licence to recruit Roman Catholic regiments of English subjects, in foreign service, and in the interest of a pretender to the crown, (which is death by the law, without his Majesty's permission,) is a favour of a very extraordinary nature, and ought to be attended with some extraordinary circumstances. I confess that I can see no such extraordinary circumstances at present ; unless it should be said that this favour was granted, in order to engage our good allies in the demolition of Dunkirk ; but I hope they have more generosity than to insist upon such hard terms for the effectual performance of that which they are obliged by treaty to do. I am sure such conditions seem unreasonable on our part, after we have made them so many other concessions ; particularly with relation to the flag, and Santa Lucia ; which, I think, are sufficient to make them comply with all our demands, without expecting any farther favours, and even supererogation of friendship.

Perhaps my adversaries (if they have any conceit) may take an opportunity of ridiculing me for writing in this strain ; but, as it sometimes serves their turn to make me a great man, and to argue against me as such, I will for once suppose myself so ; and methinks, if I had the honour of being half an hour in that station, I could reason against such an order for the good of my king and my country, in the following manner :—

1. These troops have always been made use of, when-

ever there has been any attempt in favour of the Pretender ; and indeed they are, upon many accounts, the fittest for this purpose. They are our fellow-subjects ; they speak our language ; are acquainted with our manners ; and do not raise that aversion in the people, which they naturally conceive against other foreign troops, who understand neither. I am afraid I may add, that they are kept up, for this purpose, in entire regiments, without suffering them to be mixed with the troops of any other nation. It is well known at least, that they supplied the late King James with a nursery of soldiers, who were always ready for his service, whenever any opportunity offered itself for his restoration ; and that at this time, the Pretender is always the bait made use of by their officers to raise recruits. They never mention the King of France, or the King of Spain, upon these occasions ; but list the poor wretches under an assurance, that they are entered into the service of him whom they call their natural and rightful King. I will not suspect the present fidelity of France, and their cordiality to the Protestant establishment ; yet methinks we might easily excuse ourselves from furnishing them with instruments, which they may employ against us, whenever ambition, or reasons of state, shall dissolve their present engagements, and induce them to espouse the cause of the Pretender again.

2. It is very probable that his Catholic Majesty (who has likewise several regiments of this kind in his service) will expect the same favour of recruiting them in Ireland ; and that he may, in case of refusal, make it a pretence, at any time, for quarrelling with us, interrupting our commerce, and disturbing us again in the possession of Gibraltar. And here it is proper just to take notice,

that these troops did his Catholic Majesty the most eminent service in the last siege of that important place. He may complain, perhaps, of our partiality to France, and allege, that we do not treat Spain in the same manner we expect to be treated by them, as one of the most favoured nations.

3. The kingdom of Ireland seems at this time in a very ill condition to admit of any such draughts out of her dominions. She has been already so much exhausted by the voluntary transportation of multitudes of her inhabitants, (who have been prevailed upon, by the calamities of their own country, to seek their bread in other parts of the world,) that the interposition of Parliament was found necessary to put a stop to it; and shall we suffer any foreign power to drain her still farther under such circumstances; especially in this manner, and for this purpose? I do not hear that this licence is confined to any particular number of men. It is confessed, I think, that they want above two thousand men to complete their corps; and who knows but they may design to raise a great many more than they care to own; or even to form some new regiments of these troops? But supposing they are confined to a certain number of recruits, and that Ireland were in a capacity to spare them; it is well known how easily such limitations are evaded, and how difficult it is to know when people conform exactly to the terms of their commission. This was sufficiently explained in the late famous controversy, concerning Mr Wood's patent for supplying Ireland with a particular sum of copper halfpence; and the arguments upon that subject may be applied to this, with some allowances for the difference between the two cases. It may, perhaps, be said likewise, that all the vigilance of

the ministry has been hitherto found ineffectual to prevent the French from clandestinely recruiting these regiments with Irish Catholics; and therefore, that we may as well allow them to do it openly; nay, that it is our interest to let them purge Ireland of her Popish inhabitants as much as they please: but I deny this, for several reasons, which I shall mention presently; and if it were really the case, that the French can at any time recruit these troops clandestinely, I cannot see any reason why they should solicit an order so pressingly, for two years together, to do it openly, unless they have some other design. Ought not even this consideration to put us a little upon our guard; and is it not a tacit confession, that these troops are thought to be of more importance to them than we ought to wish? Besides, are we to license and authorize a mischievous practice, because we cannot totally prevent it? Every one justly applauded his Majesty's singular firmness and resolution in supporting the rights of German subjects, when an attempt was made to seduce some of them into the King of Prussia's service, although perhaps it is impossible to prevent that practice entirely. We all remember that the enlisting of a miller's son, and a few other ordinary peasants, occasioned such a misunderstanding between the two crowns, as proceeded almost to a rupture. Nor was the zeal of the English Parliament backward on this occasion; but on this consideration, among others, resolved to keep up a body of 12,000 Hessian troops in our pay, which have already cost us above a million of money. I am confident, therefore, that the same paternal care will always influence his Majesty to guard and protect his British subjects in the same manner; and if any measure should be taken, which savours too much of the

French interest, and seems of dangerous consequence to the interest of his family, the world can impute it to nothing but the deceitful representations of those who lie under such particular obligations to the Court of France, that they can refuse them nothing.

4. Such a licence seems to give encouragement to the people of Ireland to continue Roman Catholics, since they are sure to meet with a provision both in the French and Spanish service; whereas we always reject them in our troops, and absolutely prohibit our officers to recruit in Ireland. Now, although it may not be safe to trust them in our armies, yet certainly we ought not to give the least encouragement to their entering into foreign service, especially into such compact bodies as these regiments. And here it will not be amiss to relate a story much more to the honour of an English nobleman, who has also one of the largest estates in Ireland of any man in the kingdom. When he went to visit the Invalides in France, a place in the nature of our Chelsea College here, all the Irish officers and soldiers of that hospital drew out in a body to do him particular honours. We can make no question that their chief view was to have some present from his lordship; but though he has a heart as well disposed to generous charity as any man, and a purse well able to answer the dictates of it; yet, out of regard to his country, for which he has likewise the most disinterested zeal, his answer to them was only this:—"Gentlemen, I am very sensible of the honour you have done me, and heartily pity your misfortunes; but, as you have drawn them upon yourselves by serving against your country, you must not expect any relief or reward from me, for having suffered in a service in which I wish you had never engaged."

5. Is there not some reason to apprehend that this licence may, at one time or other, prove a snare to that country, and draw many people in to their destruction ; for, unless it is made perpetual, can it be supposed that all the poor, ignorant wretches in the kingdom should be apprized how long this licence is to be in force ? or when they may enlist with impunity, and when they may not ? Besides, as it may be presumed that these officers will never go, for the future, upon such errands, without some pretended orders, when the real one is expired ; so they will find it no difficult matter to impose such a counterfeit upon illiterate people ; who may thus incur the penalties of the law, without knowing anything of the matter. Such a method of providing for persons, whose principles render them unserviceable to our army, is indeed a little more charitable than a late project for preventing Irish children from being starved, by fattening them up, and selling them to the butcher.

6. I have often heard that these troops have been made use of, in Parliament, as an argument for keeping up a standing-army in England ; and I think we need not take any measures to render that argument stronger. God knows, there are too many arguments already upon such occasions.

I might insist upon some other points, which this affair naturally suggests to a considering mind ; particularly the danger of suffering several bigoted Irish Papists, in foreign service, to disperse themselves into those counties where they have the best interest, and to stroll about Ireland among their relations and old acquaintance, of the same principles with themselves. Are we sure that they will not make a bad use of this liberty, by inquiring into the strength of their party, by giving

them hopes, and taking an opportunity to concert measures for the advantage of their cause? have we no reason to apprehend that they may endeavour to raise seamen as well as soldiers, under colour of this order? or engage great numbers of their countrymen to transport themselves over to the French colonies and plantations in the West Indies, which are already grown formidable to the trading interest of Great Britain in those parts?

But whatever may be the motives to such an extraordinary favour, or the consequences of it, I am sure it is the strongest mark of our confidence in France; and such a one, as I believe they would not place in us, upon any occasion. I will illustrate this by a parallel case.

The French Protestants who fled over hither from a persecution on account of religion, never discovered any principles which were incompatible with the civil government of France, nor ever set up any pretender to the present royal family of that kingdom; and yet, if we should think fit to form any considerable number of them into complete distinct regiments, to be composed of French Protestants only, and commanded by French officers, without any incorporation of British soldiers, I fancy it would give our good allies some umbrage. But I am almost confident, that they would never permit us to send over a Protestant French officer from every regiment to recruit their respective corps, by dispersing themselves into those provinces where they have the best interest; or suffer a field-officer, in English pay, to reside constantly in Paris, and exercise a sort of martial law in the capital of their dominions; I say, they would hardly suffer this, even though our ambassador should

solicit such an order, with the utmost application, for twenty years together.

And yet, the case of the Irish forces is much stronger with respect to us. They do not differ with us only in matters of religion, but hold principles absolutely destructive of our civil government; and are generally looked upon abroad as a standing army, kept on foot to serve the Pretender upon any occasion.

I must ask a question or two, which naturally offer themselves in this place.

What power has this field-officer to exercise during his residence in Dublin? Is the French martial law to take place, if any of these recruits should happen to repent of what they have done, and think fit to desert?

Troops are generally armed as soon as they are listed. Is this rule to be observed in the present case? If so, another question occurs. It has been found necessary, for the security of Ireland, to restrain all Roman Catholics from wearing, or keeping, any arms in their houses. I ask, therefore, whether the authority of this licence is to supersede the laws of the land? I may go farther.

The garrison of Dublin seldom consists of above 800 men for the duty of the place. Supposing double that number of Popish recruits should be brought thither, in order to be viewed by their field-officer, will it be said there is no just apprehension of danger? But as these suggestions may appear to be founded on the infidelity of France (a case not to be supposed at present) I press them no farther.

I must, however, repeat it, that this order is the fullest demonstration of the confidence we repose in them; and I hope they will scorn to make any bad use of it;

but, if it were possible to suspect that they could have any design to play the knave with us, they could not wish for a better opportunity to promote it, than by such a power as is now said to be put into their hands.

I hope my remarks on this article of news, will not be construed in a Jacobite sense, even by the most prostitute scribblers of the present times; but I must beg leave to expostulate a little with the public on that mean, infamous practice, which these writers have lately used, in explaining some of my papers into treasonable libels; taking an occasion from hence to appear formally in defence of the throne, and laying it down as a point granted, that there is an actual concerted design of setting aside the present establishment. This is a practice which may be of great service to the real enemies of the present government; and every Jacobite in the kingdom may make use of it to publish the most explicit invectives on the King and his government, under the pretence of interpreting the implicit design of other writings. It is a practice which was never allowed till now, and ought never to be allowed; for whatever may be the secret meaning of any author, such explanations are certainly libels, which may have a very bad effect upon weak minds, and are punishable by the laws, without any extraordinary methods of construction. These writers ought to remember the case of Sir Richard Steele, who published the Pretender's declaration at the beginning of the late reign, with an answer annexed; and although he did it with a very good design, yet it was universally allowed to be contrary to law; and if his principles of loyalty had not been very well known, might have involved him in a severe prosecution. I shall make no reflections on those who en-

couraged such explanations ; and those who are hired to do it are beneath my notice. Let them empty all the trite common-places of servile, injudicious flattery, and endeavour to make their court by such nauseous, dishonest adulation, as, I am sure, gives the most offence to those persons to whom it is paid. Let them throw as much foul dirt at me as they please. Let them charge me with designs which never entered into my thoughts, and cannot justly be imputed to me from any part of my conduct. God knows my heart ; I am as zealous for the welfare of the present royal family, as the most sordid of these sycophants. I am sensible, that our happiness depends on the security of his Majesty's title, and the preservation of the present government upon those principles which established them at the late glorious Revolution ; and which, I hope, will continue to actuate the conduct of Britons to the latest generations. These have always been my principles ; and whoever will give himself the trouble of looking over the course of these papers, will be convinced that they have been my guide ; but I am a blunt, plain-dealing old man, who am not afraid to speak the truth ; and as I have no relish for flattery myself, I scorn to bestow it on others. I have not, however, been sparing of just praise, nor slipped any seasonable opportunity to distinguish the royal virtues of their present Majesties.* More than this I cannot do ; and more than this, I hope, will not be expected. Some of my expressions, perhaps, may have been thought too rough and unpolished for the climate of a court ; but they flowed

* King George II., and Queen Caroline his consort.—F.

purely from the sincerity of my heart ; and the freedom of my writings has proceeded from my zeal for the interest of my King and country.

With regard to my adversaries, I will leave every impartial reader to judge, whether, even in private life, that man is not most to be depended upon, who, being inwardly convinced of the great and good qualities of his friend, never loads him with fulsome flatteries, but takes the honest liberty of warning him against the measures of those who are endeavouring to mislead him. The case is much stronger in public life ; and a crown is beset with so many difficulties, that even a prince of the most consummate wisdom is not always sufficiently guarded against the dangers which surround him, from the stratagems of artful ministers, or the blunders of weak ones. Both of them may be equally bad ministers, and pursue the same methods of supporting themselves, by flattering him into measures which tend to his destruction.

But it is time to draw to a conclusion ; and I can only add, that if I were really engaged in any design contrary to the interests of the present establishment, I should have sat down contented, and secretly rejoiced at the affair which occasioned this paper, instead of giving myself and the reader so much trouble.

C. D.

ANSWER TO THE CRAFTSMAN.*

SIR,

I DETEST reading your papers, because I am not of your principles, and because I cannot endure to be convinced. Yet I was prevailed on to peruse your Craftsman of December the 12th, wherein I discover you to be as great an enemy of this country, as you are of your own. You are pleased to reflect on a project I proposed, of making the children of Irish parents to be useful to the public instead of being burdensome; and you venture to assert, that your own scheme is more charitable, of not permitting our Popish natives to be listed in the service of any foreign prince.

Perhaps, sir, you may not have heard of any kingdom so unhappy as this, both in their imports and exports. We import a sort of goods, of no intrinsic value, which it costs us above forty thousand pounds a-year to dress, and scour, and polish, which altogether do not yield one penny advantage; and we annually export above seven hundred thousand pounds a-year in another kind of goods, for which we receive not one single farthing in return; even the money paid for letters sent

* This answer is a masterpiece, in the Dean's usual ironical style.

in transacting this commerce being all returned to England. But now, when there is a most lucky opportunity offered to begin a trade, whereby this nation will save many thousand pounds a-year, and England be a prodigious gainer, you are pleased, without a call, officiously and maliciously to interpose with very frivolous arguments.

It is well known, that about sixty years ago the exportation of live-cattle from hence to England was a great benefit to both kingdoms, until that branch of traffic was stopped by an act of Parliament on your side, whereof you have sufficient reason to repent. Upon which account, when another act passed your Parliament, forbidding the exportation of live men to any foreign country, you were so wise to put in a clause, allowing it to be done by his Majesty's permission, under his sign manual, for which, among other great benefits granted to Ireland, we are infinitely obliged to the British legislature. Yet this very grace and favour you, Mr D'Anvers, whom we never disobliged, are endeavouring to prevent; which, I will take upon me to say, is a manifest mark of your disaffection to his Majesty, a want of duty to the ministry, a wicked design of oppressing this kingdom, and a traitorous attempt to lessen the trade and manufactures of England.

Our truest and best ally, the Most Christian King, has obtained his Majesty's licence, pursuant to law, to export from hence some thousand bodies of healthy, young, living men, to supply his Irish regiments. The King of Spain, as you assert yourself, has desired the same civility, and seems to have at least as good a claim. Supposing then that these two potentates will only desire leave to carry off six thousand men between them

to France and Spain ; then, by computing the maintenance of a tall, hungry Irishman, in food and clothes, to be only at five pounds a-head, here will be thirty thousand pounds per annum saved clear to the nation ; for they can find no other employment at home, beside begging, robbing, or stealing. But, if thirty, forty, or fifty thousand (which we would gladly spare) were sent on the same errand, what an immense benefit it must be to us ! and if the two princes, in whose service they were, should happen to be at war with each other, how soon would these recruits be destroyed ! then what a number of friends would the Pretender lose, and what a number of Popish enemies all true Protestants get rid of ! Add to this, that then, by such a practice, the lands of Ireland, that want hands for tillage, must be employed in grazing, which would sink the price of wool, raw hides, butter, and tallow, so that the English might have them at their own rates ; and in return send us wheat to make our bread, barley to brew our drink, and oats for our horses, without any labour of our own.

Upon this occasion, I desire humbly to offer a scheme, which, in my opinion, would best answer the true interests of both kingdoms : For although I bear a most tender filial affection for England, my dear native country, yet I cannot deny but this noble island has a great share in my love and esteem ; nor can I express how much I desire to see it flourish in trade and opulence, even beyond its present happy condition.

The profitable land of this kingdom is, I think, usually computed at seventeen millions of acres, all of which I propose to be wholly turned to grazing. Now, it is found by experience, that one grazier and his family can manage two thousand acres. Thus sixteen millions

eight hundred thousand acres may be managed by eight thousand four hundred families ; and the fraction of two hundred thousand acres will be more than sufficient for cabins, out-houses, and potatoe-gardens ; because it is to be understood that corn of all sorts must be sent to us from England.

These eight thousand four hundred families may be divided among the four provinces, according to the number of houses in each province ; and making the equal allowance of eight to a family, the number of inhabitants will amount to sixty-seven thousand two hundred souls. To these we are to add a standing army of twenty thousand English ; which, together with their trulls, their bastards, and their horse-boys, will, by a gross computation, very near double the count, and be very sufficient for the defence and grazing of the kingdom, as well as to enrich our neighbours, expel popery, and keep out the Pretender. And, lest the army should be at a loss for business, I think it would be very prudent to employ them in collecting the public taxes for paying themselves and the civil list.

I advise, that all our owners of these lands should live constantly in England, in order to learn politeness, and qualify themselves for employments ; but, for fear of increasing the natives in this island, that an annual draught, according to the number born every year, be exported to whatever place will bear the carriage, or transplanted to the English dominions on the American continent, as a screen between his Majesty's English subjects and the savage Indians.

I advise likewise, that no commodity whatsoever, of this nation's growth, should be sent to any other country except England, under the penalty of high treason ;

and that all the said commodities shall be sent in their natural state ; and the hides raw, the wool uncombed, the flax in the stub ; excepting only fish, butter, tallow, and whatever else will be spoiled in the carriage. On the contrary, that no goods whatsoever shall be imported hither, except from England, under the same penalty : that England should be forced, at their own rates, to send us over clothes ready made, as well as shirts and smocks to the soldiers and their trulls ; all iron, wooden, and earthen ware, and whatever furniture may be necessary for the cabins of graziers ; with a sufficient quantity of gin, and other spirits, for those who, can afford to get drunk on holidays.

As to the civil and ecclesiastical administration, which I have not yet fully considered, I can say little ; only, with regard to the latter, it is plain, that the article of paying tithe for supporting speculative opinions in religion, which is so insupportable a burden to all true Protestants, and to most churchmen, will be very much lessened by this expedient ; because dry cattle pay nothing to the spiritual hireling, any more than imported corn ; so that the industrious shepherd and cowherd may sit every man under his own blackberry-bush, and on his own potatoe-bed, whereby this happy island will become a new Arcadia.

I do likewise propose, that no money shall be used in Ireland except what is made of leather, which likewise shall be coined in England, and imported ; and that the taxes shall be levied out of the commodities we export for England, and there turned into money for his Majesty's use ; and the rents to landlords discharged in the same manner. This will be no manner of grievance, for we already see it very practicable to live with-

out money, and shall be more convinced of it every day. But whether paper shall continue to supply that defect, or whether we shall hang up all those who profess the trade of bankers, (which latter I am rather inclined to,) must be left to the consideration of wiser politicians.

That which makes me more zealously bent upon this scheme, is my desire of living in amity with our neighbouring brethren; for we have already tried all other means without effect, to that blessed end: and, by the course of measures taken for some years past, it should seem that we are all agreed in the point.

This expedient will be of great advantage to both kingdoms, upon several accounts: for, as to England, they have a just claim to the balance of trade on their side with the whole world: and therefore our ancestors and we, who conquered this kingdom for them, ought, in duty and gratitude, to let them have the whole benefit of that conquest to themselves; especially when the conquest was amicably made without bloodshed, by stipulation between the Irish princes and Henry II.; by which they paid him, indeed, not equal homage with what the electors of Germany do to the emperor, but very near the same that he did to the King of France for his French dominions.

In consequence of this claim from England, that kingdom may very reasonably demand the benefit of all our commodities in their natural growth, to be manufactured by their people, and a sufficient quantity of them for our use to be returned hither fully manufactured.

This, on the other side, will be of great benefit to our inhabitants the graziers; whose time and labour will be too much taken up in manuring their ground, feeding their cattle, shearing their sheep, and sending over their

oxen fit for slaughter ; to which employments they are turned by nature, as descended from the Scythians, whose diet they are still so fond of. So Virgil describes it :—

*Et lac concretum cum sanguine bibit equino ;**

Which, in English, is bonnyclabber† mingled with the blood of horses, as they formerly did, until about the beginning of the last century ; when luxury, under the form of politeness, began to creep in, they changed the blood of horses for that of their black cattle, and, by consequence, became less warlike than their ancestors.

Although I proposed that the army should be collectors of the public revenues, yet I did not thereby intend that those taxes should be paid in gold or silver ; but in kind, as all other rent : For, the custom of tenants making their payments in money, is a new thing in the world, little known in former ages, nor generally practised in any nation at present, except this island and the southern parts of Britain. But, to my great satisfaction, I foresee better times ; the ancient manner begins to be now practised in many parts of Connaught, as well as in the county of Cork ; where the squires turn tenants to themselves, divide so many cattle to their slaves, who are to provide such a quantity of butter, hides, or tallow, still keeping up their number of cattle ; and carry the goods to Cork, or other port towns, and then sell them to merchants. By which invention there is no such thing as a ruined farmer to be seen ; but the people live with comfort on potatoes and bonnyclabber, neither of which are vendible commodities abroad.

* ———“ For drink and food,

They mix their curdled milk with horses' blood.” DRYDEN.

† Thick, sour milk.—F.

A PROPOSAL

FOR

AN ACT OF PARLIAMENT TO PAY OFF THE DEBT
OF THE NATION,

WITHOUT TAXING THE SUBJECT :

BY WHICH THE NUMBER OF LANDED-GENTRY AND SUBSTANTIAL
FARMERS WILL BE CONSIDERABLY INCREASED, AND NO PERSON
WILL BE THE POORER, OR CONTRIBUTE ONE FARTHING TO THE
CHARGE.* 1732.

THE debts contracted some years past for the service and safety of the nation are grown so great, that under our present distressed condition, by the want of trade, the great remittances to pay absentees, regiments serving abroad, and many other drains of money well enough known and felt, the kingdom seems altogether unable to discharge them by the common methods of payment: and either a poll or land-tax would be too odious to think of, especially the latter; because the

* The reader will perceive the following treatise to be altogether ironical. It refers to the disputes which at this time prevailed between the bishops of Ireland and a great body of their clergy, concerning the power of the prelates to let leases of long endurance, which Swift considered as affording the bishops in possession an undue opportunity of enriching themselves, by taking fines, &c., at the expense of the impoverishment of the see.

lands, which have been let for these ten or dozen years past, were raised so high, that the owner can at present hardly receive any rent at all. For it is the usual practice of an Irish tenant, rather than want land, to offer more for a farm than he knows he can be ever able to pay: and in that case he grows desperate, and pays nothing at all. So that a land-tax upon a racked estate, would be a burden wholly insupportable.

The question would then be, how these national debts can be paid; and how I can make good the several particulars of my proposal; which I shall now lay open to the public.

The revenues of their graces and lordships the archbishops and bishops of this kingdom (excluding the fines) do amount by a moderate computation to 36,800*l.* per annum: I mean the rents which the bishops receive from their tenants. But the real value of those lands is, at a full rent, taking the several sees one with another, reckoned to be at least three-fourths more: so that multiplying 36,800*l.* by 4, the full rent of all the bishops' lands will amount to 147,200*l.* per annum; from which subtracting the present rent received by their lordships, that is 36,800*l.*, the profits of the lands received by the first and second tenants (who both have great bargains) will rise to the sum of 110,400*l.* per annum; which lands, if they were to be sold at twenty-two years' purchase, would raise a sum of 2,428,800*l.*, reserving to the bishops their present rents, only excluding fines.

Of this sum, I propose, that out of the one-half, which amounts to 1,214,400*l.*, so much be applied as will entirely discharge the debts of the nation; and the remainder be laid up in the treasury, to supply contingen-

cies, as well as to discharge some of our heavy taxes, until the kingdom shall be in a better condition.

But, whereas the present set of bishops would be greater losers by this scheme, for want of their fines, which would be a hard treatment to such religious, loyal, and deserving personages ; I have therefore set apart the other half to supply that defect, which it will more than sufficiently do.

A bishop's lease for the full term is reckoned to be worth eleven years' purchase ; but if we take the bishops round, I suppose there may be four years of each lease elapsed ; and many of the bishops being well stricken in years, I cannot think their lives round to be worth more than seven years' purchase ; so that the purchasers may very well afford fifteen years' purchase for the reversion, especially by one great additional advantage, which I shall soon mention.

This sum of 2,428,800*l.* must likewise be sunk very considerably, because the lands are to be sold only at fifteen years' purchase ; and this lessens the sum to about 1,656,000*l.*, of which I propose 1,200,000*l.* to be applied partly for the payment of the national debt, and partly as a fund for future exigencies ; and the remaining 456,000*l.* I propose as a fund for paying the present set of bishops their fines ; which it will abundantly do, and a great part remain as an addition to the public stock.

Although the bishops round do not in reality receive three fines a-piece, which take up twenty-one years, yet I allow it to be so ; but then I will suppose them to take but one year's rent, in recompense of giving them so large a term of life ; and thus multiplying 36,800*l.* by 3, the product will be only 110,400*l.*, so that above three-fourths will remain to be applied to public use.

If I have made wrong computations, I hope to be excused, as a stranger to the kingdom ; which I never saw till I was called to an employment, and yet where I intend to pass the rest of my days ; but I took care to get the best informations I could, and from the most proper persons. However, the mistakes I may have been guilty of will very little affect the main of my proposal ; although they should cause a difference of one hundred thousand pounds, more or less.

These fines are only to be paid to the bishop during his incumbency in the same see : If he change it for a better, the purchasers of the vacant see lands are to come immediately into possession of the see he has left ; and both the bishop who is removed, and he who comes into his place, are to have no more fines ; for the removed bishop will find his account by a larger revenue ; and the other see will find candidates enough. For the law-maxim will here have place : *caveat emptor* ; I mean, the persons who succeed may choose whether they will accept or not.

As to the purchasers, they will probably be tenants to the see, who are already in possession, and can afford to give more than any other bidder.

I will farther explain myself. If a person already a bishop be removed into a richer see, he must be content with the bare revenues without any fines ; and so must he who comes into a bishopric vacant by death : and this will bring the matter sooner to bear ; which if the Crown shall think fit to countenance, will soon change the present set of bishops ; and consequently encourage purchasers of their lands. For example : If a primate should die, and the gradation be wisely made, almost the whole set of bishops might be changed in a month, each to his

great advantage, although no fines were to be got, and thereby save a great part of that sum which I have appropriated toward supplying the deficiency of fines.

I have valued the bishops' lands two years' purchase above the usual computed rate, because those lands will have a sanction from the King and Council in England, and be confirmed by an act of Parliament here : besides, it is well known, that higher prices are given every day for worse lands, at the remotest distances, and at rack-rents, which I take to be occasioned by want of trade : when there are few borrowers, and the little money in private hands lying dead, there is no other way to dispose of it but in buying of land ; which consequently makes the owners hold it so high.

Besides paying the nation's debts, the sale of these lands would have many other good effects upon the nation. It will considerably increase the number of gentry, where the bishops' tenants are not able or willing to purchase ; for the lands will afford a hundred gentlemen a good revenue to each : several persons from England will probably be glad to come over hither, and be the buyers, rather than give thirty years' purchase at home, under the loads of taxes for the public and the poor, as well as repairs, by which means much money may be brought among us ; and probably some of the purchasers themselves may be content to live cheap in a worse country rather than be at the charge of exchange and agencies ; and perhaps of nonsolvencies in absence, if they let their lands too high.

This proposal will also multiply farmers, when the purchasers will have lands in their own power to give long and easy leases to industrious husbandmen.

I have allowed some bishoprics, of equal income, to be

of more or less value to the purchaser, according as they are circumstanced. For instance, the lands of the primacy and some other sees, are let so low, that they hardly pay a fifth penny of the real value to the bishop; and there the fines are the greater. On the contrary, the sees of Meath and Clonfert consisting, as I am told, much of tithes, those tithes are annually let to the tenants without any fines. So the see of Dublin is said to have many fee-farms, which pay no fines; and some leases for lives, which pay very little, and not so soon nor so dully.

I cannot but be confident, that their graces my lords the archbishops, and my lords the bishops, will heartily join in this proposal, out of gratitude to his late and present Majesty, the best of kings, who have bestowed on them such high and opulent stations: as well as in pity to this country, which is now become their own; whereby they will be instrumental toward paying the nation's debts without impoverishing themselves; enrich a hundred gentlemen, as well as free them from dependency; and thus remove that envy, which is apt to fall upon their graces and lordships, from considerable persons, whose birth and fortunes rather qualify them to be lords of manors, than servile dependents upon churchmen, however dignified or distinguished.

If I do not flatter myself, there could not be any law more popular than this. For, the immediate tenants to bishops, being some of them persons of quality and good estates, and more of them grown up to be gentlemen by the profits of these very leases under a succession of bishops, think it a disgrace to be subject both to rents and fines at the pleasure of their landlords. Then the bulk of the tenants, especially the dissenters, who are our true loyal Protestant brethren, look upon it both as

an unnatural and iniquitous thing, that bishops should be owners of land at all (wherein I beg leave to differ from them,) being a point so contrary to the practice of the apostles, whose successors they are deemed to be; and who, although they were contented that land should be sold for the common use of the brethren, yet would not buy it themselves, but had it laid at their feet, to be distributed to poor proselytes.

I will add one word more; that, by such a wholesome law, all the oppressions felt by under-tenants of church leases, which are now laid on the bishops, would entirely be prevented, by their graces and lordships consenting to have their lands sold for payment of the nation's debts: reserving only the present rent for their own plentiful and honourable support.

I beg leave to add one particular; that, when heads of a bill (as I find the style runs in this kingdom) shall be brought in for forming this proposal into a law, I should humbly offer, that there might be a power given to every bishop, except those who reside in Dublin, for applying one hundred acres of profitable land, that lies nearest his palace, as a demesne for the convenience of his family.

I know very well, that this scheme has been much talked of for some time past, and is in the thoughts of many patriots; neither was it properly mine, although I fell readily into it, when it was first communicated to me.

Although I am almost a perfect stranger in this kingdom, yet since I have accepted an employment here of some consequence as well as profit, I cannot but think myself in duty bound to consult the interest of people among whom I have been so well received. And if I

can be any way instrumental toward contributing to reduce this excellent proposal into a law (which being not in the least injurious to England, will, I am confident, meet with no opposition from that side) my sincere endeavours to serve this church and kingdom will be well rewarded.

AN
EXAMINATION
 OF
 CERTAIN ABUSES, CORRUPTIONS,
 AND ENORMITIES,
 IN THE CITY OF DUBLIN. 1732.

NOTHING is held more commendable in all great cities, especially the metropolis of a kingdom, than what the French call the police; by which word is meant the government thereof, to prevent the many disorders occasioned by great numbers of people and carriages, especially through narrow streets. In this government our famous city of Dublin is said to be very defective, and universally complained of. Many wholesome laws have been enacted to correct those abuses, but are ill executed; and many more are wanting; which I hope the united wisdom of the nation (whereof so many good effects have already appeared this session) will soon take into their profound consideration.

As I have been always watchful over the good of mine own country, and particularly that of our renowned city, where (*absit invidia*) I had the honour to draw my first breath; I cannot have a minute's ease or patience, to forbear enumerating some of the greatest enormities,

abuses, and corruptions, spread almost through every part of Dublin ; and proposing such remedies as I hope the legislature will approve of.

The narrow compass to which I have confined myself in this paper, will allow me only to touch the most important defects ; and such as I think seem to require the most speedy redress.

And first ; perhaps there was never known a wiser institution than that of allowing certain persons of both sexes, in large and populous cities, to cry through the streets many necessaries of life. It would be endless to recount the conveniencies, which our city enjoys by this useful invention ; and particularly strangers, forced hither by business, who reside here but a short time ; for these, having usually but little money, and being wholly ignorant of the town, might at an easy price purchase a tolerable dinner, if the several criers would pronounce the names of the goods they have to sell, in any tolerable language. And therefore, until our law-makers shall think it proper to interpose so far as to make those traders pronounce their words in such terms, that a plain Christian hearer may comprehend what is cried, I would advise all new-comers to look out at their garret windows, and there see, whether the thing that is cried be tripes or flummery, butter-milk or cow-heels. For, as things are now managed, how is it possible for an honest countryman, just arrived, to find out what is meant, for instance, by the following words, with which his ears are constantly stunned twice a-day, “ Mugs, jugs, and porringers, up in the garret, and down in the cellar !” I say, how is it possible for any stranger to understand, that this jargon is meant as an invitation to buy a farthing’s worth of milk for his breakfast or supper, unless his cu-

riosity draws him to the window, or until his landlady shall inform him? I produce this only as one instance among a hundred much worse; I mean where the words make a sound wholly inarticulate, which gives so much disturbance, and so little information.

The affirmation solemnly made in the cry of herrings, is directly against all truth and probability; "Herrings alive, alive here!" The very proverb will convince us of this; for what is more frequent in ordinary speech, than to say of some neighbour for whom the passing-bell rings, that he is dead as a herring? And pray how is it possible that a herring, which, as philosophers observe, cannot live longer than one minute three seconds and a half out of water, should bear a voyage in open boats from Howth to Dublin, be tossed into twenty hands, and preserve its life in sieves for several hours? nay, we have witnesses ready to produce, that many thousands of these herrings, so impudently asserted to be alive, have been a day and a night upon dry land. But this is not the worst. What can we think of those impious wretches who dare, in the face of the sun, vouch the very same affirmative of their salmon, and cry, "Salmon alive, alive!" whereas, if you call the woman who cries it, she is not ashamed to turn back her mantle, and shew you this individual salmon cut into a dozen pieces? I have given good advice to these infamous disgracers of their sex and calling, without the least appearance of remorse, and fully against the conviction of their own consciences; I have mentioned this grievance to several of our parish-ministers, but all in vain; so that it must continue, until the government shall think fit to interpose.

There is another cry, which, from the strictest observation I can make, appears to be very modern, and it is

that of sweethearts;* and is plainly intended for a reflection upon the female sex; as if there were at present so great a dearth of lovers, that the women, instead of receiving presents from men, were now forced to offer money to purchase sweethearts. Neither am I sure, that this cry does not glance at some disaffection against the government; insinuating, that while so many of our troops are engaged in foreign service, and such a great number of our gallant officers constantly reside in England, the ladies are forced to take up with parsons and attorneys: but this is a most unjust reflection, as may soon be proved by any person who frequents the Castle, our public walks, our balls, and assemblies; where the crowds of toupees † were never known to swarm as they do at present.

There is a cry peculiar to this city, which I do not remember to have been used in London; or at least not in the same terms that it has been practised by both parties during each of their power, but very unjustly by the Tories. While these were at the helm, they grew daily more and more impatient to put all true Whigs and Hanoverians out of employments: to effect which, they hired certain ordinary fellows, with large baskets on their shoulders, to call aloud at every house, “Dirt to carry out;” giving that denomination to our whole party; as if they would signify, that the kingdom could never be cleansed, until we were swept from the earth like rubbish. But, since that happy turn of times, when we were so miraculously preserved, by just an inch, from Popery,

* A sort of sugar-cakes in the shape of hearts.—F.

† A new name for a modern periwig with a long black tail, and for its owner; now in fashion, Dec. 1. 1733.—F.

slavery, massacre, and the Pretender, I must own it is prudence in us still to go on with the same cry; which has ever since been so effectually observed, that the true political dirt is wholly removed, and thrown on its proper dunghills, there to corrupt and be no more heard of.

But to proceed to other enormities. Every person who walks the streets, must needs observe an immense number of human excrements, at the doors and steps of waste houses, and at the sides of every dead wall; for which the disaffected party has assigned a very false and malicious cause: they would have it, that these heaps were laid there privately by British fundamentals, to make the world believe that our Irish vulgar do daily eat and drink; and consequently that the clamour of poverty among us, must be false, proceeding only from Jacobites and Papists. They would confirm this, by pretending to observe, that a British anus, being more narrowly perforated than one of our own country, and many of these excrements, upon a strict view, appearing cottle crowned, with a point like a cone or pyramid, are easily distinguished from the Hibernian, which lie much flatter, and with less continuity. I communicated this conjecture to an eminent physician, who is well versed in such profound speculations, and, at my request, was pleased to make trial with each of his fingers, by thrusting them into the anus of several persons of both nations, and professed he could find no such difference between them as those ill-disposed people allege. On the contrary, he assured me that much the greater number of narrow cavities were of Hibernian origin. This I only mention, to shew how ready the Jacobites are to lay hold of any handle, to express their malice against the government. I had almost forgot to add, that my friend the physi-

cian could, by smelling each finger, distinguish the Hibernian excrement from the British, and was not above twice mistaken in a hundred experiments; upon which he intends very soon to publish a learned dissertation.

There is a diversion in this city, which usually begins among the butchers, but is often continued by a succession of other people, through many streets; it is called the **COSSING** of a dog: and I may justly number it among our corruptions. The ceremony is thus: A strange dog happens to pass through a flesh-market; whereupon an expert butcher immediately cries in a loud voice, and the proper tone, *Coss, coss*, several times. The same word is repeated by the people. The dog, who perfectly understands the terms of art, and consequently the danger he is in, immediately flies. The people, and even his own brother animals, pursue: the pursuit and cry attend him perhaps half a mile; he is well worried in his flight, and sometimes hardly escapes. This our ill-wishers of the Jacobite kind are pleased to call a persecution; and affirm, that it always falls upon dogs of the Tory principle. But we can well defend ourselves, by justly alleging, that when they were uppermost, they treated our dogs fully as inhumanly. As to my own part, who have in former times often attended these processions, although I can very well distinguish between a Whig and a Tory dog, yet I never carried my resentment very far from a party principle, except it were against certain malicious dogs, who most discover their enmity against us in the worst of times. And I remember too well, that in the wicked ministry of the Earl of Oxford, a large mastiff of our party, being unmercifully cossed-ran, without thinking, between my legs, as I was coming up Fishamble street; and, as I am of low stature, with

very short legs, bore me riding backward down the hill for above two hundred yards : and although I made use of his tail for a bridle, holding it fast with both my hands, and clung my legs as close to his sides as I could, yet we both came down together into the middle of the kennel ; where, after rolling three or four times over each other, I got up with much ado, amid the shouts and huzzas of a thousand malicious Jacobites. I cannot, indeed, but gratefully acknowledge, that for this and many other services and sufferings * I have been since more than overpaid.

This adventure may, perhaps, have put me out of love with the adventure of cossing, which I confess myself an enemy to, unless we could always be sure of distinguishing Tory dogs ; whereof great numbers have since been so prudent, as entirely to change their principles, and are justly esteemed the best worriers of their former friends.

I am assured, and partly know, that all the chimney-sweepers' boys, where members of Parliament chiefly lodge, are hired by our enemies to skulk in the tops of chimneys, with their heads no higher than will just permit them to look round ; and at the usual hours when members are going to the house, if they see a coach stand near the lodging of any loyal member, they call Coach, coach, as loud as they can bawl, just at the instant when the footman begins to give the same call. And this is chiefly done on those days when any point of importance is to be debated. This practice may be of very dangerous consequence ; for these boys are all hired by enemies to the government : and thus, by the absence of a few members for a few minutes, a question may be carried

* See the Apology for the Tale of a Tub.—H.

against the true interest of the kingdom, and, very probably, not without an eye toward the Pretender.

I have not observed the wit and fancy of this town so much employed in any one article, as that of contriving variety of signs, to hang over houses where punch is to be sold. The bowl is represented full of punch; the ladle stands erect in the middle, supported sometimes by one, and sometimes by two animals, whose feet rest upon the edge of the bowl. These animals are sometimes one black lion, and sometimes a couple; sometimes a single eagle, and sometimes a spread one; and we often meet a crow, a swan, a bear, or a cock, in the same posture.

Now, I cannot find how any of these animals, either separate or in conjunction, are, properly speaking, fit emblems or embellishments to advance the sale of punch. Besides, it is agreed among naturalists, that no brute can endure the taste of strong liquor, except where he has been used to it from his infancy; and, consequently, it is against all the rules of hieroglyph, to assign those animals as patrons or protectors of punch. For, in that case, we ought to suppose that the host keeps always ready the real bird or beast, whereof the picture hangs over his door, to entertain his guests; which, however, to my knowledge, is not true in fact; not one of those birds being a proper companion for a Christian, as to aiding and assisting in making the punch. For, as they are drawn upon the sign, they are much more likely to mute, or shed their feathers into the liquor. Then, as to the bear, he is too terrible, awkward, and slovenly a companion to converse with; neither are any of them at all handy enough to fill liquor to the company. I do, therefore, vehemently suspect a plot intended against

the government by these devices. For, although the spread eagle be the arms of Germany, upon which account it may possibly be a lawful Protestant sign, yet I, who am very suspicious of fair outsides, in a matter which so nearly concerns our welfare, cannot but call to mind that the Pretender's wife is said to be of German birth; and that many Popish Princes, in so vast an extent of land, are reported to excel both at making and drinking punch: besides, it is plain that the spread eagle exhibits to us the perfect figure of a cross, which is a badge of Popery. Then, as to the cock, he is well known to represent the French nation, our old and dangerous enemy. The swan, who must of necessity cover the entire bowl with his wings, can be no other than the Spaniard, who endeavours to engross all the treasures of the Indies to himself. The lion is, indeed, the common emblem of royal power, as well as the arms of England; but to paint him black is perfect Jacobitism, and a manifest type of those who blacken the actions of the best princes. It is not easy to distinguish, whether that other fowl painted over the punch-bowl be a crow or a raven. It is true they have both been ominous birds: but I rather take it to be the former; because it is the disposition of a crow to pick out the eyes of other creatures, and often even of Christians, after they are dead; and is therefore drawn here with a design to put the Jacobites in mind of their old practice, first to lull us asleep, (which is an emblem of death,) and then to blind our eyes, that we may not see their dangerous practices against the state.

To speak my private opinion: The least offensive picture in the whole set seems to be the bear; because he represents *ursa major*, or the great bear, who pre-

sides over the north, where the reformation first began ; and which, next to Britain, (including Scotland and the north of Ireland,) is the great protector of the true Protestant religion. But, however, in those signs where I observe the bear to be chained, I cannot help surmising a Jacobite contrivance ; by which these traitors hint an earnest desire of using all true Whigs, as their predecessors did the primitive Christians : I mean, to represent us as bears, and then halloo their Tory dogs to bait us to death.

Thus I have given a fair account of what I dislike in all the signs set over those houses that invite us to punch. I own it was a matter that did not need explaining, being so very obvious to common understandings : yet I know not how it happens, but, methinks, there seems a fatal blindness to overspread our corporeal eyes, as well as our intellectual ; and I heartily wish I may be found a false prophet ; for these are not bare suspicions, but manifest demonstrations.

Therefore, away with these Popish, Jacobitish, and idolatrous gewgaws. And I heartily wish a law were enacted, under severe penalties, against drinking punch at all ; for nothing is easier than to prove it a disaffected liquor : the chief ingredients, which are brandy, oranges, and lemons, are all sent us from Popish countries ; and nothing remains of Protestant growth but sugar and water. For as to biscuit, which formerly was held a necessary ingredient, and is truly British, we find it entirely rejected.

But I will put the truth of my assertion past all doubt : I mean, that this liquor is, by one important innovation, grown of ill example, and dangerous consequence to the public. It is well known, that, by the

true original institution of making punch, left us by Captain Ratcliffe, the sharpness is only occasioned by the juice of lemons, and so continued until after the happy Revolution. Oranges, alas! are a mere innovation, and, in a manner, but of yesterday. It was the politics of Jacobites to introduce them gradually; and to what intent? The thing speaks itself. It was cunningly to shew their virulence against his sacred majesty, King William, of ever-glorious and immortal memory. But of late (to shew how fast disloyalty increases) they came from one or two, and then to three oranges; nay, at present we often find punch made all with oranges, and not one single lemon. For the Jacobites, before the death of that immortal prince, had, by a superstition formed a private prayer, that, as they squeezed the orange, so might that Protestant King be squeezed to death; according to the known sorcery described by Virgil:*

Limus ut hic duerscit, et hæc ut cera liquescit, &c.

Ecl. viii. 80.

And thus the Romans, when they sacrificed an ox, used this kind of prayer: "As I knock down this ox, so may thou, O Jupiter, knock down our enemies." In like manner, after King William's death, whenever a Jacobite squeezed an orange, he had a mental curse upon the glorious memory, and a hearty wish for power to squeeze all his Majesty's friends to death, as he squeezed that orange, which bore one of his titles, as he was Prince of Orange. This I do affirm for truth,

* "The squeezing of the orange" was literally a toast among the disaffected in the reign of William III.

many of that faction having confessed it to me under an oath of secrecy; which, however, I thought it my duty not to keep, when I saw my dear country in danger. But what better can be expected from an infamous set of men, who never scruple to drink *confusion* to all true Protestants, under the name of Whigs?—a most unchristian and inhuman practice; which, to our great honour and comfort, was never charged upon us, even by our most malicious detractors.

The sign of two angels hovering in the air, and with their right hands supporting a crown, is met with in several parts of this city, and has often given me great offence; for, whether by the unskilfulness or dangerous principles of the painters, (although I have good reasons to suspect the latter,) those angels are usually drawn with such horrid, or indeed rather diabolical countenances, that they give great offence to every loyal eye, and equal cause of triumph to the Jacobite, being a most infamous reflection upon our able and excellent ministry.

I now return to that great enormity of our city cries; most of which we have borrowed from London. I shall consider them only in a political view, as they nearly affect the peace and safety of both kingdoms; and having been originally contrived by wicked Machiavels, to bring in Popery, slavery, and arbitrary power, by defeating the Protestant succession, and introducing the Pretender, ought in justice to be here laid open to the world.

About two or three months after the happy Revolution, all persons who possessed any employment or office in church or state, were obliged, by an act of Parliament, to take the oaths to King William and Queen Mary; and a great number of disaffected persons re-

fusing to take the said oaths, from a pretended scruple of conscience, but really from a spirit of Popery and rebellion, they contrived a plot to make the swearing to those princes odious in the eyes of the people. To this end they hired certain women of ill fame, but loud, shrill voices, under the pretence of selling fish, to go through the streets with sieves on their heads, and cry "Buy my soul, buy my soul;" plainly insinuating, that all those who swore to King William were just ready to sell their souls for an employment. This cry was revived at the death of Queen Anne, and, I hear, still continues in London, with much offence to all true Protestants; but, to our great happiness, seems to be almost dropped in Dublin.

But, because I altogether contemn the displeasure and resentment of highfliers, Tories, and Jacobites, whom I look upon to be worse even than professed Papists, I do here declare, that those evils which I am going to mention, were all brought in upon us in the worst of times, under the late Earl of Oxford's administration, during the four last years of Queen Anne's reign. That wicked minister was universally known to be a Papist in his heart. He was of a most avaricious nature; and is said to have died worth four millions sterling,* beside his vast expense in building, statues, plate, jewels, and other costly rarities. He was of a mean, obscure birth, from the very dregs of the people; and so illiterate, that he could hardly read a paper at the council-table. I forbear to touch on his open profane, profligate life,

* The author's meaning is just contrary to the literal sense in the character of Lord Oxford; while he is in truth sneering at the splendour of Houghton, and the supposed wealth of Sir Robert Walpole.

because I desire not to rake into the ashes of the dead ; and, therefore, I shall observe this wise maxim, *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*.

This flagitious man, in order to compass his black designs, employed certain wicked instruments (which great statesmen are never without) to adapt several London cries in such a manner as would best answer his ends. And whereas it was, upon good grounds, grievously suspected, that all places at court were sold to the highest bidder, certain women were employed by his emissaries to carry fish in baskets on their heads, and bawl through the streets, " Buy my fresh places !" I must indeed own, that other women used the same cry, who were innocent of this wicked design, and really sold fish of that denomination to get an honest livelihood ; but the rest, who were in the secret, although they carried fish in their sieves, or baskets, to save appearances, yet they had likewise a certain sign, somewhat resembling that of the freemasons, which the purchasers of places knew well enough, and were directed by the women whither they were to resort and make their purchase. And I remember very well how oddly it looked, when we observed many gentlemen finely dressed, about the court end of the town, and as far as York Buildings, where the Lord-Treasurer Oxford dwelt, calling the women who cried " Buy my fresh places !" and talking to them in the corner of a street, until they understood each other's sign. But we never could observe that any fish was bought.

Some years before the cries last mentioned, the Duke of Savoy was reported to have made certain overtures to the court of England, for admitting his eldest son, by the Duchess of Orleans's daughter, to succeed to the

crown as next heir, upon the Pretender's being rejected; and that son was immediately to turn Protestant. It was confidently reported, that great numbers of people, disaffected to the then illustrious, but now royal house of Hanover, were in those measures. Whereupon another set of women were hired by the Jacobite leaders, to cry through the whole town, "Buy my Savoys, dainty Savoys, curious Savoys!" But I cannot directly charge the late Earl of Oxford with this conspiracy, because he was not then chief minister. However, this wicked cry still continues in London, and was brought over hither, where it remains to this day; and is, in my humble opinion, a very offensive sound to every true Protestant, who is old enough to remember those dangerous times.

During the ministry of that corrupt and Jacobite earl above-mentioned, the secret pernicious design of those in power was to sell Flanders to France; the consequence of which must have been the infallible ruin of the States-General, and would have opened the way for France to obtain that universal monarchy they have so long aimed at; to which the British dominions must, next after Holland, have been compelled to submit, whereby the Protestant religion would be rooted out of the world.

A design of this vast importance, after a long consultation among the Jacobite grandees, with the Earl of Oxford at their head, was at last determined to be carried on by the same method with the former. It was, therefore, again put in practice; but the conduct of it was chiefly left to chosen men, whose voices were louder and stronger than those of the other sex; and upon this occasion was first instituted in London that famous cry

of "FLOUNDERS!" But the criers were particularly directed to pronounce the word Flaunders and not flounders; for the country which we now, by corruption, call Flanders, is, in its true orthography, spelt Flaunders, as may be obvious to all who read old English books. I say, from hence began that thundering cry, which has ever since stunned the ears of all London, made so many children fall into fits, and women miscarry: "Come, buy my fresh flaunders, curious flaunders, charming flaunders, alive, alive, ho!"—which last words can, with no propriety of speech, be applied to fish manifestly dead, (as I observed before in herrings and salmon,) but very justly to ten provinces, containing many millions of living Christians. But the application is still closer, when we consider that all the people were to be taken like fishes in a net; and, by assistance of the Pope, who sets up to be the universal fisher of men, the whole innocent nation was, according to our common expression, to be laid as flat as a flounder.

I remember myself, a particular crier of flounders in London, who arrived at so much fame for the loudness of his voice, as to have the honour to be mentioned upon that account in a comedy. He hath disturbed me many a morning before he came within fifty doors of my lodging; and although I were not, in those days, so fully apprized of the designs which our common enemy had then in agitation, yet, I know not how, by a secret impulse, young as I was, I could not forbear a strong dislike against the fellow; and often said to myself, "This cry seems to be forged in the Jesuits' school; alas, poor England! I am grievously mistaken if there be not some Popish Plot at the bottom." I communicated my thoughts to an intimate

friend, who reproached me with being too visionary in my speculations; but it proved afterwards that I had conjectured right. And I have since reflected, that if the wicked faction could have procured only a thousand men of as strong lungs as the fellow I mentioned, none can tell how terrible the consequences might have been, not only to these two kingdoms, but over all Europe, by selling Flanders to France. And yet these cries continue unpunished both in London and Dublin; although, I confess, not with equal vehemence or loudness, because the reason for contriving this desperate plot is, to our great felicity, wholly ceased.]

It is well known, that the majority of the British House of Commons, in the last years of Queen Anne's reign, were in their hearts directly opposite to the Earl of Oxford's pernicious measures; which put him under the necessity of bribing them with salaries. Whereupon he had again recourse to his old politics. And, accordingly, his emissaries were very busy in employing certain artful women, of no good life and conversation, (as it was proved before Justice Peyton)* to cry that vegetable commonly called celery, through the town. These women differed from the common criers of that herb by some private mark, which I could never learn; but the matter was notorious enough, and sufficiently talked of; and about the same period was the cry of celery brought over into this kingdom. But since there is not at present the least occasion to suspect the loyalty of our criers upon that article, I am content that it may still be tolerated.

* A famous Whig Justice in those times.—F.

I shall mention but one cry more, which has any reference to politics ; but is indeed, of all others, the most insolent, as well as treasonable, under our present happy establishment, I mean that of turnups ; not of turnips, according to the best orthography, but absolutely turnups. Although the cry be of an older date than some of the preceding enormities—for it began after the Revolution—yet was it never known to arrive at so great a height, as during the Earl of Oxford's power. Some people (whom I take to be private enemies) are indeed as ready as myself to profess their disapprobation of this cry, on pretence that it began by the contrivance of certain old procuresses, who kept houses of ill-fame, where lewd women met to draw young men into vice. And this they pretend to prove by some words in the cry ; because, after the crier had bawled out, " Turnups, ho ! buy my dainty turnups," he would sometimes add the two following verses :—

" Turn up the mistress, and turn up the maid,
And turn up the daughter, and be not afraid."

This, says some political sophists, plainly shews, that there can be nothing farther meant in so infamous a cry, than an invitation to lewdness ; which indeed ought to be severely punished in all well-regulated governments, yet cannot be fairly interpreted as a crime of state. But I hope we are not so weak and blind to be deluded at this time of day with such poor evasions. I could, if it were proper, demonstrate the very time when those two verses were composed, and name the author, who was no other than the famous Mr Swan, so well known for his talent at quibbling, and was as virulent a Jacobite as any in England. Neither could he deny the

fact, when he was taxed for it in my presence by Sir Henry Dutton Colt, and Colonel Davenport, at the Smyrna coffee-house, on the 10th of June, 1701. Thus it appears to a demonstration, that those verses were only a blind to conceal the most dangerous designs of the party; who, from the first years after the happy Revolution, used a cant way of talking in their clubs, after this manner: "We hope to see the cards shuffled once more, and another king TURN UP trump:" and, "When shall we meet over a dish of TURNUPS?" The same term of art was used in their plots against the government, and in their treasonable letters written in ciphers, and deciphered by the famous Dr Willes, as you may read in the trials of those times. This I thought fit to set forth at large, and in so clear a light, because the Scotch and French authors have given a very different account of the word TURNUP; but whether out of ignorance or partiality, I shall not decree; because I am sure the reader is convinced by my discovery. It is to be observed, that this cry was sung in a particular manner by fellows in disguise, to give notice where those traitors were to meet, in order to concert their villainous designs.

I have no more to add upon this article, than an humble proposal, that those who cry this root at present in our streets of Dublin, may be compelled by the justices of the peace, to pronounce turnip, and not turnup; for I am afraid we have still too many snakes in our bosom, and it would be well if their cellars were sometimes searched, when the owners least expected it; for I am not out of fear, that *latet anguis in herbá*.

Thus we are zealous in matters of small moment, while we neglect those of the highest importance. I

have already made it manifest, that all these cries were contrived in the worst of times, under the ministry of that desperate statesman, Robert, late Earl of Oxford; and for that very reason ought to be rejected with horror, as begun in the reign of Jacobites, and may well be numbered among the rags of Popery and treason; or, if it be thought proper that these cries must continue, surely they ought to be only trusted in the hands of true Protestants, who have given security to the government.

Having already spoken of many abuses relating to sign-posts, I cannot here omit one more, because it plainly relates to politics; and is, perhaps, of more dangerous consequence than any of the city cries, because it directly tends to destroy the succession. It is the sign of his present Majesty King George the Second, to be met with in many streets; and yet I happen to be not only the first, but the only, discoverer of this audacious instance of Jacobitism. And I am confident, that, if the justices of the peace would please to make a strict inspection, they might find, in all such houses, before which those signs are hung up in the manner I have observed, that the landlords were malignant Papists, or, which is worse, notorious Jacobites. Whoever views those signs, may read, over his Majesty's head, the following letters and ciphers, G. R. II., which plainly signifies George, King the Second, and not King George the Second, or George the Second, King; but laying the point after the letter G, by which the owner of the house manifestly shews, that he renounces his allegiance to King George the Second, and allows him to be only the second king, *inuendo*, that the Pretender is the first king; and looking upon King George to be

only a kind of second king, or viceroy, till the Pretender shall come over and seize the kingdom. I appeal to all mankind, whether this be a strained or forced interpretation of the inscription, as it now stands in almost every street; whether any decipherer would make the least doubt or hesitation to explain it as I have done; whether any other Protestant country would endure so public an instance of treason in the capital city from such vulgar conspirators; and, lastly, whether Papists and Jacobites of great fortunes and quality may not probably stand behind the curtain in this dangerous, open, and avowed design against the government. But I have performed my duty; and leave the reforming of these abuses to the wisdom, the vigilance, the loyalty, and activity of my superiors.

TO THE HONOURABLE
HOUSE OF COMMONS, &c.

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF THE FOOTMEN IN AND
ABOUT THE CITY OF DUBLIN,

(WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1732;)

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

THAT your petitioners are a great and numerous society, endowed with several privileges time out of mind.

That certain lewd, idle, and disorderly persons, for several months past, as it is notoriously known, have been daily seen in the public walks of this city, habited sometimes in green coats, and sometimes laced, with long oaken cudgels in their hands, and without swords; in hopes to procure favour, by that advantage, with a great number of ladies who frequent those walks; pretending and giving themselves out to be the true genuine Irish footmen; whereas they can be proved to be no better than common toupees, as a judicious eye may soon discover, by their awkward, clumsy, ungenteel gait and behaviour; by their unskilfulness in dress, even with the advantage of our habits; by their ill-favoured countenances, with an air of impudence and dulness peculiar to the rest of their brethren, who have not yet arrived at that transcendent pitch of assurance; and although

it may be justly apprehended, that they will do so in time, if these counterfeits shall happen to succeed in their evil designs of passing for real footmen, thereby to render themselves more amiable to the ladies.

Your petitioners do farther allege, that many of the said counterfeits, upon a strict examination, have been found in the act of strutting, staring, swearing, swaggering, in a manner that plainly shewed their best endeavours to imitate us. Wherein, although they did not succeed, yet by their ignorant and ungainly way of copying our graces, the utmost indignity was endeavoured to be cast upon our whole profession.

Your petitioners do therefore make it their humble request, that this honourable house, (to many of whom your petitioners are nearly allied,) will please to take this grievance into your most serious consideration; humbly submitting, whether it would not be proper, that certain officers might, at the public charge, be employed to search for, and discover, all such counterfeit footmen; to carry them before the next Justice of Peace, by whose warrant, upon the first conviction, they shall be stripped of their coats and oaken ornaments, and be set two hours in the stocks; upon the second conviction, beside stripping, be set six hours in the stocks with a paper pinned on their breasts signifying their crime, in large capital letters, and in the following words:—
“A. B., commonly called A. B., Esq., a toupee, and a notorious impostor, who presumed to personate a true Irish footman.”

And for any other offence, the said toupee shall be committed to Bridewell, whipped three times, forced to hard labour for a month, and not to be set at liberty till he shall have given sufficient security for his good behaviour.

Your honours will please to observe, with what lenity we propose to treat these enormous offenders, who have already brought such a scandal on our honourable calling, that several well-meaning people have mistaken them to be of our fraternity, in diminution to that credit and dignity whereby we have supported our station, as we always did, in the worst of times. And we farther beg leave to remark, that this was manifestly done with a seditious design to render us less capable of serving the public in any great employments, as several of our fraternity, as well as our ancestors, have done.

We do therefore humbly implore your honours to give necessary orders for our relief in this present exigency, and your petitioners (as in duty bound) shall ever pray, &c.

ADVICE

TO THE

FREEMEN OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN,

IN THE CHOICE OF A MEMBER TO REPRESENT THEM
IN PARLIAMENT.

THOSE few writers, who, since the death of Alderman Burton, have employed their pens in giving advice to our citizens, how they should proceed in electing a new representative for the next sessions, having laid aside their pens, I have reason to hope, that all true lovers of their country in general, and particularly those who have any regard for the privileges and liberties of this great and ancient city, will think a second, and a third time, before they come to a final determination upon what person they resolve to fix their choice.

I am told, there are only two persons who set up for candidates; one is the present Lord Mayor,* and the other,† a gentleman of good esteem, an alderman of the city, a merchant of reputation, and possessed of a consi-

* Humphry French, Lord Mayor of Dublin, to whom Dean Swift inscribes a translation of Horace, Book IV. Ode 19.

† John Macarall.

derable office under the crown. The question is, which of these two persons it will be most for the advantage of the city to elect? I have but little acquaintance with either, so that my inquiries will be very impartial, and drawn only from the general character and situation of both.

In order to this, I must offer my countrymen and fellow-citizens some reasons why I think they ought to be more than ordinarily careful, at this juncture, upon whom they bestow their votes.

To perform this with more clearness, it may be proper to give you a short state of our unfortunate country.

We consist of two parties: I do not mean Popish and Protestant, High and Low Church, Episcopal and Sectarians, Whig and Tory; but of those of English extraction who happen to be born in this kingdom, (whose ancestors reduced the whole nation under the obedience of the English crown,) and the gentlemen sent from the other side to possess most of the chief employments here. This latter party is very much enlarged and strengthened by the whole power in the church, the law, the army, the revenue, and the civil administration deposited in their hands; although, for political ends, and to save appearances, some employments are still distributed (yet gradually in a small number) to persons born here; this proceeding, fortified with good words and many promises, is sufficient to flatter and feed the hopes of hundreds, who will never be one farthing the better, as they might easily be convinced, if they were qualified to think at all.

Civil employments of all kinds have been for several years past, with great prudence, made precarious, and during pleasure; by which means the possessors are, and

must inevitably be, for ever dependent ; yet those very few of any consequence, which being dealt with so sparing a hand to persons born among us, are enough to keep hope alive in great numbers, who desire to mend their condition by the favour of those in power.

Now, my dear fellow-citizens, how is it possible you can conceive, that any person, who holds an office of some hundred pounds a-year, which may be taken from him whenever power shall think fit, will, if he should be chosen a member for any city, do the least thing, when he sits in the house, that he knows or fears may be displeasing to those who gave him or continue him in that office ? Believe me, these are not times to expect such an exalted degree of virtue from mortal men. Blazing stars are much more frequently seen than such heroical worthies. And I could sooner hope to find ten thousand pounds by digging in my garden, than such a phoenix, by searching among the present race of mankind.

I cannot forbear thinking it a very erroneous, as well as modern maxim of politics, in the English nation, to take every opportunity of depressing Ireland ; whereof a hundred instances may be produced in points of the highest importance, and within the memory of every middle-aged man ; although many of the greatest persons among that party which now prevails, have formerly, upon that article, much differed in their opinion from their present successors.

But so the fact stands at present. It is plain that the court and country party here, (I mean in the House of Commons,) very seldom agree in anything but their loyalty to his present Majesty, their resolutions to make him and his viceroy easy in the government, to the utmost of their power, under the present condition of the

kingdom. But the persons sent from England, who (to a trifle) are possessed of the sole executive power in all its branches, with their few adherents in possession who were born here, and hundreds of expectants, hoppers, and promisees, put on quite contrary notions with regard to Ireland. They count upon an universal submission to whatever shall be demanded; wherein they act safely, because none of themselves, except the candidates, feel the least of our pressures.

I remember a person of distinction some days ago affirmed in a good deal of mixed company, and of both parties, that the gentry from England, who now enjoy our highest employments of all kinds, can never be possibly losers of one farthing by the greatest calamities that can befall this kingdom, except a plague that would sweep away a million of our hewers of wood and drawers of water, or an invasion that would fright our grandees out of the kingdom. For this person argued, that while there was a penny left in the treasury, the civil and the military list must be paid; and that the Episcopal revenues, which are usually farmed out at six times below the real value, could hardly fail. He insisted farther, that as money diminished, the price of all necessaries of life must of consequence do so too, which would be for the advantage of all persons in employment, as well as of my lords the bishops, and to the ruin of everybody else. Among the company there wanted not men in office, besides one or two expectants; yet I did not observe any of them disposed to return an answer; but the consequences drawn were these: That the great men in power sent hither from the other side, were by no means upon the same foot with his Majesty's other subjects of Ireland. They had no common ligament to bind them

with us ; they suffered not with our sufferings ; and if it were possible for us to have any cause of rejoicing, they could not rejoice with us.

Suppose a person, born in this kingdom, shall happen by his services for the English interest to have an employment conferred upon him worth four hundred pounds a-year ; and that he has likewise an estate in land worth four hundred pounds a-year more ; suppose him to sit in Parliament ; then, suppose a land-tax to be brought in of five shillings a-pound for ten years ; I tell you how this gentleman will compute. He has four hundred pounds a-year in land : the tax he must pay yearly is one hundred pounds ; by which, in ten years, he will pay only a thousand pounds. But if he gives his vote against this tax, he will lose four thousand pounds by being turned out of his employment, together with the power and influence he has, by virtue and colour of his employment ; and thus the balance will be against him three thousand pounds.

I desire, my fellow-citizens, you will please to call to mind how many persons you can vouch for among your acquaintance, who have so much virtue and self-denial as to lose four hundred pounds a-year for life, together with the smiles and favour of power, and the hopes of higher advancement, merely out of a generous love of his country.

The contentions of parties in England are very different from those among us. The battle there is fought for power and riches ; and so it is indeed among us : but whether a great employment be given to Tom or to Peter, they were both born in England, the profits are to be spent there. All employments (except a very few) are bestowed on the natives ; they do not send to Germany,

Holland, Sweden, or Denmark, much less to Ireland, for chancellors, bishops, judges, or other officers. Their salaries, whether well or ill got, are employed at home: and whatever their morals or politics be, the nation is not the poorer.

The House of Commons in England have frequently endeavoured to limit the number of members, who should be allowed to have employments under the Crown. Several acts have been made to that purpose, which many wise men think are not yet effectual enough, and many of them are rendered ineffectual by leaving the power of re-election. Our House of Commons consists, I think, of about three hundred members; if one hundred of these should happen to be made up of persons already provided for, joined with expecters, compliers easy to be persuaded, such as will give a vote for a friend who is in hopes to get something; if they be merry companions, without suspicion, of a natural bashfulness, not apt or able to look forward; if good words, smiles, and caresses, have any power over them, the larger part of a second hundred may be very easily brought in at a most reasonable rate.

There is an Englishman* of no long standing among us, but in an employment of great trust, power, and profit. This excellent person did lately publish, at his own expense, a pamphlet printed in England by authority, to justify the bill for a general excise or inland duty, in order to introduce that blessed scheme among us. What a tender care must such an English patriot for Ireland have of our interest, if he should condescend to sit in our

* Edward Thompson, Esq. Member of Parliament for York, and a Commissioner of the Revenue of Ireland.—F.

Parliament! I will bridle my indignation. However, methinks I long to see that mortal, who would with pleasure blow us all up at a blast: but he duly receives his thousand pounds a-year; makes his progress like a king; is received in pomp at every town* and village where he travels, and shines in the English newspapers.

I will now apply what I have said to you, my brethren and fellow-citizens. Count upon it, as a truth next to your creed, that no one person in office, of which he is master for life, whether born here or in England, will ever hazard that office for the good of his country. One of your candidates is of this kind, and I believe him to be an honest gentleman, as the word honest is generally understood. But he loves his employment better than he does you, or his country, or all the countries upon earth. Will you contribute to give him city security to pay him the value of his employment, if it should be taken from him, during his life, for voting on all occasions with the honest country party in the House?—although I much question, whether he would do it even upon that condition.

Wherefore, since there are but two candidates, I entreat you will fix on the present Lord Mayor. He has shewn more virtue, more activity, more skill, in one year's government of the city, than a hundred years can equal. He has endeavoured, with great success, to banish frauds, corruptions, and all other abuses from among you.

A dozen such men in power would be able to reform

* Mr Thompson was presented with the freedom of several corporations in Ireland.—F.

a kingdom. He has no employment under the Crown ; nor is likely to get or solicit for any : his education having not turned him that way. I will assure for no man's future conduct ; but he who has hitherto practised the rules of virtue with so much difficulty in so great and busy a station, deserves your thanks, and the best return you can make him ; and you, my brethren, have no other to give him, than that of representing you in Parliament. Tell me not of your engagements and promises to another : your promises are sins of inconsideration, at best ; and you are bound to repent and annul them. That gentleman, although with good reputation, is already engaged on the other side. He has four hundred pounds a-year under the Crown, which he is too wise to part with, by sacrificing so good an establishment to the empty names of virtue, and love of his country. I can assure you, the **DRAPIER** is in the interest of the present Lord Mayor, whatever you may be told to the contrary. I have lately heard him declare so in public company, and offer some of these very reasons in defence of his opinion ; although he has a regard and esteem for the other gentleman, but would not hazard the good of the city and the kingdom for a compliment.

The Lord Mayor's severity to some unfair dealers, should not turn the honest men among them against him. Whatever he did, was for the advantage of those very trades, whose dishonest members he punished. He has hitherto been above temptation to act wrong ; and therefore, as mankind goes, he is the most likely to act right as a representative of your city, as he constantly did in the government of it.

SOME

CONSIDERATIONS

HUMBLY OFFERED TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE
LORD MAYOR, THE COURT OF ALDERMEN, AND
COMMON-COUNCIL OF THE HONOURABLE
CITY OF DUBLIN,

IN THE

CHOICE OF A RECORDER.* 1733.

THE office of Recorder to this city being vacant by the death of a very worthy gentleman, it is said, that five or six persons are soliciting to succeed him in the employment. I am a stranger to all their persons, and to most of their characters; which latter, I hope, will at this time be canvassed with more decency than it sometimes happens upon the like occasions. Therefore, as I am wholly impartial, I can with more freedom deliver my thoughts how the several persons and parties con-

* On the death of Mr Stoyte, Recorder of the City of Dublin, in the year 1733, several gentlemen declared themselves candidates to succeed him; upon which the Dean wrote the above paper, and Eton Stannard, Esq. (a gentleman of great worth and honour, and very knowing in his profession) was elected.—F.

cerned ought to proceed in electing a Recorder for this great and ancient city.

And, first, as it is very natural, so I can by no means think it an unreasonable opinion, that the sons or near relations of Aldermen, and other deserving citizens, should be duly regarded as proper competitors for an employment in the city's disposal, provided they be equally qualified with other candidates; and provided that such employments require no more than common abilities, and common honesty. But in the choice of a Recorder, the case is entirely different. He ought to be a person of good abilities in his calling; of an unspotted character; an able practitioner; one who has occasionally merited of this city before; he ought to be of some maturity in years; a member of Parliament, and likely to continue so; regular in his life; firm in his loyalty to the Hanover succession; indulgent to tender consciences; but, at the same time, a firm adherer to the established church. If he be such a one who has already sat in Parliament, it ought to be inquired of what weight he was there; whether he voted on all occasions for the good of his country; and particularly for advancing the trade and freedom of this city; whether he be engaged in any faction, either national or religious; and, lastly, whether he be a man of courage, not to be drawn from his duty by the frowns or menaces of power, nor capable to be corrupted by allurements or bribes.—These, and many other particulars, are of infinitely more consequence, than that single circumstance of being descended by a direct or collateral line from any Alderman, or distinguished citizen, dead or alive.

There is not a dealer or shopkeeper in this city, of any substance, whose thriving, less or more, may not depend

upon the good or ill conduct of a Recorder. He is to watch every motion in Parliament that may the least affect the freedom, trade, or welfare of it.

In this approaching election, the commons, as they are a numerous body, so they seem to be most concerned in point of interest; and their interest ought to be most regarded, because it altogether depends upon the true interest of the city. They have no private views; and giving their votes, as I am informed, by balloting, they lie under no awe, or fear of disobliging competitors. It is therefore hoped that they will duly consider, which of the candidates is most likely to advance the trade of themselves and their brother-citizens; to defend their liberties, both in and out of Parliament, against all attempts of encroachment or oppression. And so God direct them in the choice of a Recorder, who may for many years supply that important office with skill, diligence, courage, and fidelity. And let all the people say, Amen.

A NEW PROPOSAL

FOR THE

BETTER REGULATION AND IMPROVEMENT OF
QUADRILLE. 1736.

——— *Ridiculum acri*
Fortius et melius, &c.

Hor. 1. Sat. x. 14.

THIS little satire, though trivial in itself, was productive of serious consequences. It was written by Dr Josiah Hort, who, as appears from his letter to the Dean, 23d February, 1735-6, sent it to Swift that he might "prune the rough feathers, and set the kite to the falconer to set it a-flying." The satire was accordingly printed by Faulkner, at Swift's earnest desire, and published in a broadside. Serjeant Bettesworth made a formal complaint to the House of Commons. Faulkner, then in a bad state of health, was committed to prison, and confined, according to Swift, in a dungeon among common thieves. Still, however, he refused to give up his author; and Swift, considering himself as having a warm personal interest in his sufferings, and perceiving that Bishop Hort was likely to give him no compensation, wrote an animated expostulation to his lordship on the subject, dated 12th May, 1736. Hartley Hutchinson, a Justice of Peace, having made himself busy in procuring evidence against Faulkner, felt the lash of Swift's satire, in two or three pieces of fugitive poetry, which will be found amongst his political satires.

WHEREAS the noble game of Quadrille hath been found, by experience, to be of great use and benefit to

the commonwealth ; particularly as it helps to kill *time*, that lies heavy upon our hands ; and to pass away life, which seems too long while we have it, and too short when we come to part with it : as it suppresses all wit in conversation, which is apt to turn into scandal ; all politics, which are offensive to ministries and governments ; and all reading, which is injurious to the eyes, especially by candle-light : and it destroys pride effectually, by bringing the noble and ignoble, the learned and ignorant, the prude and the coquette, wives, widows, and maids, to one common level ; giving preference of the best place and warmest corner, not according to the fantastical distinctions of birth, quality, and station, but by equal lot ; as it is a sovereign cure for animosities, making people good friends for the time being, who heartily hate one another : as it prevents the squabbles, so frequent among other dealers, about the weight of gold, and gives the lightest the same value and currency with the heaviest ; which is no small advantage to the public at this juncture, when change is growing so scarce : and to name no more, as it enables the butler to go as fine as his master, without an increase of wages :

And, whereas, for want of true taste and relish of the said noble game, divers ladies are tardy, and come late to the rendezvous, being detained by the paltry cares of family, or a nap after dinner, or by hooking-in a few street-visits at doors where they expect to be denied, and are sometimes cruelly bit ; while the true *professors* and *adepts*, who consider the shortness of human life and the value of precious time, are impatiently waiting for such loiterers, and curse innocent clocks and watches that are forced to *lie* in justification of their tardiness.

Now, in order to cut off those frivolous pretences, and prevent those ill-bred and injurious practices, for the future, and to the intent that every lady may have due notice of the appointed hour, it is hereby proposed, that a subscription be set on foot for erecting a square tower in the middle of St Stephen's Green; and that a bell be hung in the same, large enough to be heard distinctly over the parishes of St Anne, St Andrew, and St Peter; and, in calm evenings, as far as the parish of St Mary, for the benefit of the graduates dwelling there: that the said bell, for greater solemnity, shall be christened,* according to the rites and ceremonies of the Roman church; and that the godfathers shall be K. C. and M. J., and the godmothers L. M. and R. E., who shall call it *The Great Tom of Quadrille*: that the said bell shall be tolled by the butlers of St Stephen's Green and Dawson Street, in their turns, beginning exactly a quarter before six in the evening, and ending precisely at six. In the meantime, all the little church bells shall cease their babblings, to the end Tom may be more distinctly heard.

And if, upon such legal notice, any lady of the party shall not be ready on the spot to draw for her place, before the last stroke of Tom, she shall lay down five shillings on the table, by way of fine, for the use of the poor of the parish, being Protestants; or, on failure thereof, she shall not handle a card that night, but *Dummy* shall be substituted in her room.

And, that parties may not be disappointed, by excuses of a cold or other slight indispositions, when it is

* The bells are christened by the Papists.—F.

too late to beat up for a new recruit ; it is proposed, that no such excuse shall be admitted, unless the same be certified under the hand of some graduate physician, Dr Richard T—— always excepted : and for want of such certificate, the defaultress to be amerced, as fore-said, at the next meeting. And it is farther proposed, that the said great Tom shall be tolled a quarter before eleven precisely ; after which no pool shall be made, to the intent that the ladies may have a quarter of an hour for adjusting their play-purses, and saying their prayers : and in the absence of the butler, it may be lawful for a footman to snuff the candles over the ladies' shoulders ; provided he be a handsome, well-dressed young fellow, with a clean shirt and ruffles.

N. B. That Tom is not to toll on Sundays, without special licence from the parish minister ; and this not till divine service is over.

And whereas frequent disputes and altercations arise in play between ladies of distinction, insomuch that a bystander may plainly perceive that they pull coifs *in their hearts*, and part with such animosity, that nothing but the sovereign reconciler *Quadrille* could bring them to meet again in one house ; it is humbly proposed, for the benefit of trade, that, when a question cannot be decided by the company, the same shall be immediately set down in writing by the lady who can write the best English ; and that the case, being truly stated, and attested by both parties, shall, together with the fee of one fish *ad valorem*, be laid before the renowned Mr Serjeant Bettsworth, who shall be appointed arbitrator-general in all disputes of this kind ; and shall, moreover, have sufficient power and authority to give damages for all opprobrious language, and especially for all hints,

squints, innuendoes, leers, and shrugs, or other muscular motions of evil signification, by which the reputation of a lady may be affected, on account of any slip or miscarriage that may have happened within twenty years last past.

And if any lady should find herself aggrieved by the decision of the said Mr Bettsworth, it shall be lawful for her to remove her cause, by appeal, before the Upright Man in Essex Street, who, having never given a corrupt judgment, may be called, next after his holiness at Rome, the only *infallible judge* upon earth; and the said Upright Man's determination shall be final and conclusive to all parties.

And forasmuch as it appears, by experience, that this beneficial branch of commerce cannot well be carried on without entries to be made in writing, which, by their great number, might occasion oversights and mistakes, without some prudent restrictions; it is humbly proposed, that all appointments, made for any longer time than three months to come, shall be declared utterly null and void: and in case a lady should happen, upon the day prefixed within that term, to be in labour, or to be no longer than one week brought to bed; or if, for the unseasonable hours, her husband should withhold her pin money, or chain her by the leg to the bed-post, she shall incur no penalty for her non-appearance, there being no doubt of her good inclination.

But no plea of a husband newly buried, or of weeds delayed by a mantua-maker, or any other matter of mere fashion or ceremony, shall be in any wise admitted.

And, to the intent that no breach of faith may pass unpunished, it is proposed, that the lady making default

shall, at the next party meeting, take the chair nearest the door, or against a cracked panel in the wainscot, and have no screen at her back, unless she shall give her honour that her memorandum paper was casually left in her folio Common Prayer-book at church, and that she only perused it there during the collect ; in which case her punishment shall be respited till the next meeting, where she shall produce the same, and vouch it to be the true original.

And lastly, because it sometimes happens that a party is broken, and a hand wanting, by *misnomer*,* and other blunders of servants carrying messages ; it is proposed, that the servant so offending, if it be a *valet de chambre*, shall wait in a common livery for the space of one month ; and if he be a footman, the booby shall be tossed in a blanket in the middle of Stephen's Green.

* Wrong names.—S.

ADVERTISEMENT

FOR THE

HONOUR OF THE KINGDOM OF IRELAND. 1738.

THIS is to inform the public, that a gentleman of long study, observation, and experience, hath employed himself for several years in making collections of facts relating to the conduct of divines, physicians, lawyers, soldiers, merchants, traders, and squires; containing an historical account of the most remarkable corruptions, frauds, oppressions, knaveries, and perjuries; wherein the names of the persons concerned shall be inserted at full length, with some account of their families and stations.

But whereas the said gentleman cannot complete his history without some assistance from the public, he humbly desires, that all persons, who have any memoirs, or accounts, relating to themselves, their families, their friends, or acquaintance, which are well attested, and fit to enrich the work, will please to send them to the printer of this advertisement: and if any of the said persons, who are disposed to send materials, happen to live in the country, it is desired their letters may be either franked, or the post paid.

This collection is to commence with the year 1700, and to be continued to the present year, 1738. The

work is to be entitled, "The Author's Critical History of his Own Times."

It is intended to be printed by subscription, in a large octavo; each volume to contain five hundred facts, and to be sold for a British crown. The author proposeth that the whole work (which shall take in the period of thirty-eight years) shall be contained in eighteen volumes.

Whoever shall send the author any accounts of persons, who have performed any acts of justice, charity, public spirit, gratitude, fidelity, or the like, attested by indubitable witnesses within the same period, the said facts shall be printed by way of appendix at the end of each volume, and no addition to the price of the work demanded. But, lest any such persons may apprehend that the relating of these facts may be injurious to their reputations, their names shall not be set down without particular direction.

N. B. There will be a small number printed on royal paper for the curious, at only two British crowns. There will also be the effigies of the most eminent persons mentioned in this work, prefixed to each volume, curiously engraved by Mr Hogarth.

Subscriptions are taken in by the printer hereof, and by the booksellers of London and Dublin.

CHARACTER OF AN IRISH SQUIRE.

EVERY Squire, almost to a man, is an oppressor of the clergy, a racker of his tenants, a jobber of all public works, very proud, and generally illiterate. Two neighbouring Squires, although they be intimate friends, relations, or allies, if one of them want two hundred foot of the other's land contiguous to his own, which would make any building square, or his garden uniform, (without the least inconveniency to the other,) he shall be absolutely refused; or (as the utmost mark of friendship) shall be forced to pay for it twenty times more than the value. This they call paying for your conveniency; which is directly contrary to the very letter of an ancient heathen maxim in morality—That whatever benefit we can confer upon another, without injuring ourselves, we are bound to do it to a perfect stranger. The Esquires take the titles of great men, with as little ceremony as Alexander or Cæsar. For instance, the great Conolly,* the great Wellesley,† the great Damer.‡

* Speaker of the House of Commons.—H.

† Garret Wellesley, Esq., who left a very large estate to his first cousin, Richard Colley, Esq., upon his taking the name of Wellesley, and bearing his arms. Whatever title this gentleman himself may have had to the epithet Great, it will be hardly refused to his descendant, the Duke of Wellington.

‡ J. Damer, Esq., of the county of Tipperary.

A fellow, whose father was a butcher, desiring a lawyer to be a referee in some little brangle between him and his neighbour, complained that the lawyer excused himself in the following manner:—"Sir, I am your most humble servant, but dare not venture to interfere in the quarrels of you great men." Which I take to be just of a piece with Harlequin's swearing upon his honour. Jealousies, quarrels, and other ruptures, are as frequent between neighbouring Squires, and from the same motives; the former wrangling about their meres and bounds, as the others do about their frontiers. The detestable tyranny and oppression of landlords are visible in every part of the kingdom.

ON GIVING BADGES TO THE POOR.

Deanery-house, Sept. 26, 1726.

THE continued concourse of beggars from all parts of the kingdom to this city, having made it impossible for the several parishes to maintain their own poor, according to the ancient laws of the land, several lord mayors did apply themselves to the lord Archbishop of Dublin, that his grace would direct his clergy, and his churchwardens of the said city, to appoint badges of brass, copper, or pewter, to be worn by the poor of the several parishes. The badges to be marked with the initial letters of the name of each church, and numbered 1, 2, 3, &c., and to be well sewed and fastened on the right and left shoulder of the outward garment of each of the said poor, by which they might be distinguished. And that none of the said poor should go out of their own parish to beg alms; whereof the beadles were to take care.

His grace the lord Archbishop did accordingly give his directions to the clergy; which, however, have proved wholly ineffectual, by the fraud, perverseness, or pride of the said poor, several of them openly protesting “they will never submit to wear the said badges.” And of those who received them, almost every one keep them

in their pockets, or hang them in a string about their necks, or fasten them under their coats, not to be seen, by which means the whole design is eluded; so that a man may walk from one end of the town to another, without seeing one beggar regularly badged, and in such great numbers, that they are a mighty nuisance to the public, most of them being foreigners.

It is therefore proposed, that his grace the lord Archbishop would please to call the clergy of the city together, and renew his directions and exhortations to them, to put the affair of badges effectually in practice, by such methods as his grace and they shall agree upon. And I think it would be highly necessary that some paper should be pasted up in several proper parts of the city, signifying this order, and exhorting all people to give no alms except to those poor who are regularly badged, and only while they are in the precincts of their own parishes. And if something like this were delivered by the ministers in the reading-desk two or three Lord's-days successively, it would still be of farther use to put this matter upon a right foot. And that all who offend against this regulation be treated as vagabonds and sturdy beggars.

CONSIDERATIONS

ABOUT MAINTAINING THE POOR.

WE have been amused, for at least thirty years past, with numberless schemes, in writing and discourse, both in and out of Parliament, for maintaining the poor, and setting them to work, especially in this city: most of which were idle, indigested, or visionary; and all of them ineffectual, as it has plainly appeared by the consequences. Many of those projectors were so stupid, that they drew a parallel from Holland to England, to be settled in Ireland; that is to say, from two countries with full freedom and encouragement for trade, to a third where all kind of trade is cramped, and the most beneficial parts are entirely taken away. But the perpetual infelicity of false and foolish reasoning, as well as proceeding and acting upon it, seems to be fatal to this country.

For my own part, who have much conversed with those folks who call themselves merchants, I do not remember to have met with a more ignorant and wrong-thinking race of people in the very first rudiments of trade; which, however, was not so much owing to their want of capacity, as to the crazy constitution of this kingdom, where pedlars are better qualified to thrive

than the wisest merchants. I could fill a volume with only setting down a list of the public absurdities, by which this kingdom has suffered within the compass of my own memory, such as could not be believed of any nation, among whom folly was not established as a law. I cannot forbear instancing a few of these, because it may be of some use to those who shall have it in their power to be more cautious for the future.

The first was, the building of the barracks ; whereof I have seen above one-half, and have heard enough of the rest, to affirm that the public has been cheated of at least two-thirds of the money raised for that use, by the plain fraud of the undertakers.

Another was the management of the money raised for the Palatines ; when, instead of employing that great sum in purchasing lands in some remote and cheap part of the kingdom, and there planting those people as a colony, the whole end was utterly defeated.

A third is, the insurance office against fire, by which several thousand pounds are yearly remitted to England, (a trifle, it seems, we can easily spare,) and will gradually increase until it comes to a good national tax : for the society-marks upon our houses (under which might properly be written, “ The Lord have mercy upon us !” *) spread faster and farther than the colony of frogs. † I have, for above twenty years past, given

* This was the ominous inscription commonly placed on houses visited by the plague.

† This similitude, which is certainly the finest that could possibly have been used upon this occasion, seems to require a short explanation. About the beginning of the eighteenth century, Dr Gwythers, a physician, and fellow of the University of Dublin, brought over

warning several thousand times to many substantial people, and to such who are acquainted with lords and squires, and the like great folks, to any of whom I have not the honour to be known: I mentioned my daily fears, lest our watchful friends in England might take this business out of our hands; and how easy it would be to prevent that evil, by erecting a society of persons who had good estates, such, for instance, as that noble knot of bankers, under the style of "Swift and Company." But now we are become tributary to England, not only for materials to light our own fires, but for engines to put them out; to which, if hearth-money be added, (repealed in England as a grievance,) we have the honour to pay three taxes for fire.

A fourth was the knavery of those merchants, or linen-manufacturers, or both, when, upon occasion of the plague at Marseilles, we had a fair opportunity of getting into our hands the whole linen-trade of Spain; but the commodity was so bad, and held at so high a rate, that almost the whole cargo was returned, and the small remainder sold below the prime cost.

So many other particulars of the same nature crowd into my thoughts, that I am forced to stop; and the ra-

with him a parcel of frogs from England to Ireland, in order to propagate their species in that kingdom, and threw them into the ditches of the University park; but they all perished. Whereupon he sent to England for some bottles of the frog-spawn, which he threw into those ditches, by which means the species of frogs was propagated in that kingdom. However, their number was so small in the year 1720, that a frog was nowhere to be seen in Ireland, except in the neighbourhood of the University park: but within six or seven years after, they spread thirty, forty, or fifty miles over the country; and so at last, by degrees, over the whole nation.—D. S.

ther because they are not very proper for my subject, to which I shall now return.

Among all the schemes for maintaining the poor of the city, and setting them to work, the least weight has been laid upon that single point which is of the greatest importance; I mean, that of keeping foreign beggars from swarming hither out of every part of the country; for, until this be brought to pass effectually, all our wise reasonings and proceedings upon them will be vain and ridiculous.

The prodigious number of beggars throughout this kingdom, in proportion to so small a number of people, is owing to many reasons: to the laziness of the natives; the want of work to employ them; the enormous rents paid by cottagers for their miserable cabins and potatoe-plots; their early marriages, without the least prospect of establishment; the ruin of agriculture, whereby such vast numbers are hindered from providing their own bread, and have no money to purchase it; the mortal damp upon all kinds of trade, and many other circumstances, too tedious or invidious to mention.

And to the same causes we owe the perpetual course of foreign beggars to this town, the country landlords giving all assistance, except money and victuals, to drive from their estates those miserable creatures they have undone.

It was a general complaint against the poor-house, under its former governors, "That the number of poor in this city did not lessen by taking three hundred into the house, and all of them recommended under the minister's and churchwardens' hands of the several parishes:" and this complaint must still continue, although

the poor-house should be enlarged to contain three thousand, or even double that number.

The revenues of the poor-house, as it is now established, amount to about two thousand pounds a-year; whereof two hundred allowed for officers, and one hundred for repairs, the remaining seventeen hundred, at four pounds a-head, will support four hundred and twenty-five persons. This is a favourable allowance, considering that I subtract nothing for the diet of those officers, and for wear and tear of furniture; and if every one of these collegiates should be set to work, it is agreed they will not be able to gain by their labour above one-fourth part of their maintenance.

At the same time, the oratorial part of these gentlemen seldom vouchsafe to mention fewer than fifteen hundred or two thousand people, to be maintained in this hospital, without troubling their heads about the fund. * * * *

A PROPOSAL

FOR GIVING BADGES TO THE BEGGARS

IN ALL THE PARISHES OF DUBLIN.

April 22, 1737.

IT has been a general complaint that the poor-house (especially since the new constitution by act of Parliament) has been of no benefit to this city, for the ease of which it was wholly intended. I had the honour to be a member of it many years before it was new-modelled by the legislature; not from any personal regard, but merely as one of the two Deans, who are, of course, put into most commissions that relate to the city, and I have, likewise, the honour to have been left out of several commissions, upon the score of party, in which my predecessors, time out of mind, have always been members.

The first commission was made up of about fifty persons, which were, the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriffs, and some other citizens: the Judges, the two Archbishops, the two Deans of the city, and one or two more gentlemen. And I must confess my opinion, that the dissolving of the old commission, and establishing a new one of nearly three times the number; have

been the great cause of rendering so good a design not only useless, but a grievance instead of a benefit to the city. In the present commission, all the city clergy are included, besides a great number of squires; not only those who reside in Dublin and the neighbourhood, but several who live at a great distance, and cannot possibly have the least concern for the advantage of the city.

At the few general meetings that I have attended, since the new establishment, I observed very little was done, except one or two acts of extreme justice, which I then thought might as well have been spared; and I have found the court of assistants usually taken up in little wrangles about coachmen, and adjusting accounts of meal and small-beer; which, however necessary, might sometimes have given place to matters of much greater moment; I mean some schemes recommended to the general board for answering the chief ends in erecting and establishing such a poor-house, and endowing it with so considerable a revenue; and the principal end I take to have been, that of maintaining the poor and orphans of the city, where the parishes are not able to do it; and clearing the streets from all strollers, foreigners, and sturdy beggars, with which, to the universal complaint and admiration, Dublin is more infested since the establishment of the poor-house, than it was ever known to be since its first erection.

As the whole fund for supporting this hospital is raised only from the inhabitants of the city; so there can be hardly anything more absurd than to see it misemployed in maintaining foreign beggars, and bastards or orphans of farmers, whose country landlords never contributed one shilling toward their support. I would

engage that half this revenue, if employed with common care, and no very great degree of common honesty, would maintain all the real objects of charity in this city, except a small number of original poor in every parish, who might, without being burdensome to the parishioners, find a tolerable support.

I have for some years past applied myself to several lord-mayors, and the late Archbishop of Dublin, for a remedy to this evil of foreign beggars; and they all appeared ready to receive a very plain proposal, I mean that of badging the original poor of every parish who begged in the streets; that the said beggars should be confined to their own parishes; that they should wear their badges well sown upon one of their shoulders, always visible, on pain of being whipped and turned out of town, or whatever legal punishment may be thought proper and effectual. But, by the wrong way of thinking in some clergymen, and the indifference of others, this method was perpetually defeated, to their own continual disquiet, which they do not ill deserve: and if the grievance affected only them, it would be of less consequence, because the remedy is in their own power: but all street-walkers and shopkeepers bear an equal share in its hourly vexation.

I never heard more than one objection against this expedient of badging the poor, and confining their walks to their several parishes. The objection was this: What shall we do with the foreign beggars? must they be left to starve? I answered, No; but they must be driven and whipped out of town; and let the next country parish do as they please, or rather, after the practice in England, send them from one parish to another, until they reach their own homes. By the old laws of

England, still in force, every parish is bound to maintain its own poor; and the matter is of no such consequence in this point as some would make it, whether a country parish be rich or poor. In the remoter and poorer parishes of the kingdom, all necessaries of life proper for poor people are comparatively cheaper; I mean buttermilk, oatmeal, potatoes, and other vegetables; and every farmer or cottager, who is not himself a beggar, can spare sometimes a sup or a morsel, not worth the fourth part of a farthing, to an indigent neighbour of his own parish, who is disabled from work. A beggar, native of the parish, is known to the squire, to the church-minister, to the popish priest, or the conventicle-teacher, as well as to every farmer; he has generally some relations able to live, and contribute something to his maintenance: none of which advantages can be reasonably expected on a removal to places where he is altogether unknown. If he be not quite maimed, he and his trull, and litter of brats, (if he has any) may get half their support by doing some kind of work in their power, and thereby be less burdensome to the people. In short, all necessaries of life grow in the country, and not in cities, and are cheaper where they grow; nor is it equitable that beggars should put us to the charge of giving them victuals, and the carriage too.

But when the spirit of wandering takes him, attended by his females and their equipage of children, he becomes a nuisance to the whole country; he and his females are thieves, and teach the trade of stealing to their brood of four years old; and if his infirmities be counterfeit, it is dangerous for a single person unarmed to meet him on the road. He wanders from one county to another, but still with a view to this town, where he

arrives at last, and enjoys all the privileges of a Dublin beggar.

I do not wonder that the country squires should be very willing to send up their colonies ; but why the city should be content to receive them, is beyond my imagination.

If the city were obliged by their charters to maintain a thousand beggars, they could do it cheaper by eighty per cent. a hundred miles off, than in this town, or in any of its suburbs.

There is no village in Connaught, that in proportion shares so deeply in the daily increasing miseries of Ireland, as its capital city ; to which miseries there hardly remained any addition, except the perpetual swarms of foreign beggars, who might be banished in a month, without expense, and with very little trouble.

As I am personally acquainted with a great number of street-beggars, I find some weak attempts have been made in one or two parishes to promote the wearing of badges ; and my first question to those who ask an alms is, " Where is your badge ?" I have, in several years, met with about a dozen who were ready to produce them, some out of their pockets, others from under their coats, and two or three on their shoulders, only covered with a sort of capes, which they could lift up or let down upon occasion. They are too lazy to work ; they are not afraid to steal, nor ashamed to beg ; and yet are too proud to be seen with a badge, as many of them have confessed to me, and not a few in very injurious terms, particularly the females. They all look upon such an obligation as a high indignity done to their office. I appeal to all indifferent people, whether such wretches deserve to be relieved. As to myself, I must

confess, this absurd insolence has so affected me, that for several years past I have not disposed of one single farthing to a street-beggar, nor intend to do so, until I see a better regulation; and I have endeavoured to persuade all my brother walkers to follow my example, which most of them assure me they will do. For if beggary be not able to beat out pride, it cannot deserve charity. However, as to persons in coaches and chairs, they bear but little of the persecution we suffer, and are willing to leave it entirely upon us.

To say the truth, there is not a more undeserving vicious race of human kind, than the bulk of those who are reduced to beggary, even in this beggarly country. For as a great part of our public miseries is originally owing to our own faults, (but what those faults are, I am grown by experience too wary to mention,) so I am confident, that, among the meaner people, nineteen in twenty of those who are reduced to a starving condition, did not become so by what the lawyers call the work of God, either upon their bodies or goods; but merely from their own idleness, attended with all manner of vices, particularly drunkenness, thievery, and cheating.

Whoever inquires, as I have frequently done from those who have asked me an alms, what was their former course of life, will find them to have been servants in good families, broken tradesmen, labourers, cottagers, and what they call decayed housekeepers: but (to use their own cant) reduced by losses and crosses, by which nothing can be understood but idleness and vice.

As this is the only Christian country where people, contrary to the old maxim, are the poverty, and not the riches of the nation; so the blessing of increase and multiply is by us converted into a curse; and, as mar-

riage has been ever countenanced in all free countries, so we should be less miserable if it were discouraged in ours, as far as can be consistent with Christianity. It is seldom known in England, that the labourer, the lower mechanic, the servant, or the cottager, thinks of marrying, until he has saved up a stock of money sufficient to carry on his business ; nor takes a wife without a suitable portion ; and as seldom fails of making a yearly addition to that stock, with a view of providing for his children. But in this kingdom the case is directly contrary ; where many thousand couples are yearly married, whose whole united fortunes, bating the rags on their backs, would not be sufficient to purchase a pint of buttermilk for their wedding-supper, nor have any prospect of supporting their honourable state, but by service, or labour, or thievery. Nay, their happiness is often deferred until they find credit to borrow, or cunning to steal, a shilling to pay their popish priest, or infamous couple-beggar. Surely no miraculous portion of wisdom would be required to find some kind of remedy against this destructive evil, or at least not to draw the consequences of it upon our decaying city, the greatest part whereof must of course in a few years become desolate, or in ruins.

In all other nations, that are not absolutely barbarous, parents think themselves bound, by the law of nature and reason, to make some provision for their children ; but the reason offered by the inhabitants of Ireland for marrying, is that they may have children to maintain them when they grow old, and unable to work.

I am informed, that we have been for some time past extremely obliged to England for one very beneficial branch of commerce ; for it seems they are grown so gra-

cious as to transmit us continually colonies of beggars, in return for a million of money they receive yearly from hence. That I may give no offence, I profess to mean real English beggars, in the literal meaning of the word, as it is usually understood by Protestants. It seems the justices of the peace and parish-officers in the western coasts of England, have a good while followed the trade of exporting hither their supernumerary beggars, in order to advance the English Protestant interest among us; and these they are so kind as to send over *gratis*, and duty free. I have had the honour, more than once, to attend large cargoes of them from Chester to Dublin: and I was then so ignorant as to give my opinion, that our city should receive them into Bridewell, and after a month's residence, having been well whipped twice a-day, fed with bran and water, and put to hard labour, they should be returned honestly back with thanks, as cheap as they came: or, if that were not approved of, I proposed, that whereas one Englishman is allowed to be of equal intrinsic value with twelve born in Ireland, we should, in justice, return them a dozen for one, to dispose of as they please.

As to the native poor of this city, there would be little or no damage in confining them to their several parishes. For instance: a beggar of the parish of St Warburgh's, or any other parish here, if he be an object of compassion, has an equal chance to receive his proportion of alms from every charitable hand: because the inhabitants, one or other, walk through every street in town, and give their alms without considering the place, wherever they think it may be well-disposed of; and these helps, added to what they get in eatables, by going from house to house, among the gentry and citi-

zens, will, without being very burdensome, be sufficient to keep them alive.

It is true, the poor of the suburb parishes will not have altogether the same advantage, because they are not equally in the road of business and passengers; but here it is to be considered, that the beggars there have not so good a title to public charity, because most of them are strollers from the country, and compose a principal part of that great nuisance which we ought to remove. I should be apt to think, that few things can be more irksome to a city-minister, than a number of beggars which do not belong to his district; whom he has no obligation to take care of, who are no part of his flock, and who take the bread out of the mouths of those to whom it properly belongs. When I mention this abuse to any minister of a city parish, he usually lays the fault upon the beadles, who, he says, are bribed by the foreign beggars; and, as those beadles often keep alehouses, they find their account in such customers. This evil might easily be remedied, if the parishes would make some small addition to the salaries of beadles, and be more careful in the choice of those officers. But I conceive there is one effectual method in the power of every minister to put in practice; I mean, by making it the interest of all his own original poor to drive out intruders; for, if the parish beggars were absolutely forbidden by the minister and church-officers to suffer strollers to come into the parish, upon pain of themselves not being permitted to beg alms at the church doors, or at the houses and shops of the inhabitants, they would prevent interlopers more effectually than twenty beadles.

And here I cannot but take notice of the great indiscretion of our city shopkeepers, who suffer their doors to

be daily besieged by crowds of beggars, (as the gates of a lord are by duns,) to the great disgust and vexation of many customers, who I have frequently observed to go to other shops, rather than suffer such a persecution ; which might easily be avoided, if no foreign beggars were allowed to infest them.

Wherefore I do assert, that the shopkeepers, who are the greatest complainers of this grievance, lamenting that for every customer they are worried by fifty beggars, do very well deserve what they suffer, when an apprentice with a horsewhip is able to lash every beggar from the shop, who is not of the parish, and does not wear the badge of that parish on his shoulder, well fastened, and fairly visible ; and if this practice were universal in every house to all the sturdy vagrants, we should in a few weeks clear the town of all mendicants, except those who have a proper title to our charity ; as for the aged and infirm, it would be sufficient to give them nothing, and then they must starve, or follow their brethren.

It was the city that first endowed this hospital ; and those who afterward contributed, as they were such who generally inhabited here, so they intended what they gave to be for the use of the city's poor. The revenues which have since been raised by Parliament, are wholly paid by the city, without the least charge upon any other part of the kingdom ; and therefore, nothing could more defeat the original design, than to misapply those revenues on strolling beggars or bastards from the country, which bears no share in the charges we are at.

If some of the out-parishes be overburdened with poor, the reason must be, that the greatest part of those poor are strollers from the country, who nestle themselves where they can find the cheapest lodgings, and from

thence infest every part of the town ; out of which they ought to be whipped as a most insufferable nuisance, being nothing else but a profligate clan of thieves, drunkards, heathens, and whoremongers, fitter to be rooted out of the face of the earth, than suffered to levy a vast annual tax upon the city, which shares too deep in the public miseries, brought on us by the oppressions we lie under from our neighbours, our brethren, our countrymen, our fellow-protestants, and fellow-subjects.

Some time ago I was appointed one of a committee to inquire into the state of the workhouse ; where we found that a charity was bestowed by a great person for a certain time, which in its consequences operated very much to the detriment of the house ; for, when the time was elapsed, all those who were supported by that charity continued on the same foot with the rest of the foundation ; and being generally a pack of profligate vagabond wretches from several parts of the kingdom, corrupted all the rest ; so partial, or treacherous, or interested, or ignorant, or mistaken, are generally all recommenders, not only to employments, but even to charity itself.

I know it is complained of, that the difficulty of driving foreign beggars out of the city is charged upon the *bellowers*, (as they are called,) who find their accounts best in suffering those vagrants to follow their trade through every part of the town. But this abuse might easily be remedied, and very much to the advantage of the whole city, if better salaries were given to those who execute that office in the several parishes, and would make it their interests to clear the town of those caterpillars, rather than hazard the loss of an employment that would give them an honest livelihood. But, if that should fail, yet a general resolution of never gi-

ving charity to a street-beggar out of his own parish, or without a visible badge, would infallibly force all vagrants to depart.

There is generally a vagabond spirit in beggars, which ought to be discouraged and severely punished. It is owing to the same causes that drove them into poverty; I mean idleness, drunkenness, and rash marriages, without the least prospect of supporting a family by honest endeavours, which never came into their thoughts. It is observed, that hardly one beggar in twenty looks upon himself to be relieved by receiving bread, or other food; and they have in this town been frequently seen to pour out of their pitchers good broth, that has been given them, into the kennel; neither do they much regard clothes, unless to sell them; for their rags are part of their tools with which they work; they want only ale, brandy, and other strong liquors, which cannot be had without money; and money, as they conceive, always abounds in the metropolis.

I had some other thoughts to offer upon this subject. But, as I am a desponder in my nature, and have tolerably well discovered the disposition of our people, who never will move a step toward easing themselves from any one single grievance, it will be thought that I have already said too much, and to little or no purpose, which has often been the fate or fortune of the writer.

J. SWIFT.

SERMONS.

The first of these is the fact that the
country is now a free country and
the people are now free to do as they
please. The second is the fact that
the country is now a free country and
the people are now free to do as they
please. The third is the fact that
the country is now a free country and
the people are now free to do as they
please.

BY ORDER

The undersigned, being the
proper authorities, do hereby
certify that the above is a
true and correct copy of the
original as the same appears
from the records of the
Department of the Interior.
This certificate is given in
obedience to the order of the
Secretary of the Interior.
Dated at Washington, D.C.,
this 1st day of January, 1870.

SERMONS.

It has been usually reported that Swift, though originally studious of his character as a preacher, was never satisfied with his own Sermons. He preached, however, regularly as his turn of duty recurred, and always to a crowded congregation. Some years before his death, he gave thirty-five Sermons to Dr Sheridan, saying, slightly, "There are a bundle of my old Sermons. You may have them if you please; they may be of use to you, they never were of any to me." There are several reasons, which, without disparagement to the real value of these discourses, may have induced the author to think of them with indifference. They contain obvious marks of haste and carelessness; were the objects, says Lord Orrery, of necessity, not of choice; and it is not usual for writers to rate compositions highly on which they have bestowed neither time nor labour. But they are, besides, as Sermons, inferior to many written by Swift's contemporaries, and he was too much accustomed to pre-eminence to view with complacency compositions, which tended to place him in a secondary and subordinate situation. They are deficient also in those qualities of oratory which must ever be most valued by the preacher, since, through them, he is to produce his effect upon the congregation at the moment when he himself is addressing them. The Sermons of Swift have none of that thunder which appals, or that resistless and winning softness which melts, the hearts of an audience. He can never have enjoyed the triumph of uniting hundreds in one ardent sentiment of love, of terror, or of devotion. His reasoning, however powerful, and indeed unanswerable, convinces the understanding, but is never addressed to the heart; and, indeed, from his instructions to a young clergyman, he seems hardly to have considered pathos as a legitimate ingredient in an English sermon. Occasionally, too,

Swift's misanthropic habits break out even from the pulpit ; nor is he altogether able to suppress his disdain of those fellow mortals, on whose behalf was accomplished the great work of redemption. With such unamiable feelings towards his hearers, the preacher might indeed command their respect, but could never excite their sympathy. It may be feared that his Sermons were less popular from another cause, imputable more to the congregation than to the pastor. Swift spared not the vices of rich or poor ; and, disdaining to amuse the imaginations of his audience with discussion of dark points of divinity, or warm them by a flow of sentimental devotion, he rushes at once to the point of moral depravity, and upbraids them with their favourite and predominant vices in a tone of stern reproof, bordering upon reproach. In short, he tears the bandages from their wounds, like the hasty surgeon of a crowded hospital, and applies the incision knife and caustic with salutary, but rough and untamed severity. But, alas ! the mind must be already victorious over the worst of its evil propensities, that can profit by this harsh medicine. There is a principle of opposition in our nature, which mans itself with obstinacy even against avowed truth, when it approaches our feelings in a harsh and insulting manner. And Swift was probably sensible, that his discourses, owing to these various causes, did not produce the powerful effects most grateful to the feelings of the preacher, because they reflect back to him those of the audience.

But although the Sermons of Swift are deficient in eloquence, and were lightly esteemed by their author, they must not be undervalued by the modern reader. They exhibit, in an eminent degree, that powerful grasp of intellect which distinguished the author above all his contemporaries. In no religious discourses can be found more sound good sense, more happy and forcible views of the immediate subject. The reasoning is not only irresistible, but managed in a mode so simple and clear, that its force is obvious to the most ordinary capacity. Upon all subjects of morality, the preacher maintains the character of a rigid and inflexible monitor ; neither admitting apology for that which is wrong, nor softening the difficulty of adhering to that which is right ; a stern stoicism of doctrine, that may fail in finding many converts, but leads to excellence in the few manly minds who dare to embrace it.

In treating the doctrinal points of belief, (as in his Sermon upon the Trinity,) Swift systematically refuses to quit the high and pre-eminent ground which the defender of Christianity is entitled to oc-

copy, or to submit to the test of human reason, mysteries which are placed, by their very nature, far beyond our finite capacities. Swift considered, that, in religion, as in profane science, there must be certain ultimate laws which are to be received as fundamental truths, although we are incapable of defining or analysing their nature; and he censures those divines, who, in presumptuous confidence of their own logical powers, enter into controversy upon such mysteries of faith, without considering that they give thereby the most undue advantage to the infidel. Our author wisely and consistently declared reason an incompetent judge of doctrines, of which God had declared the fact, concealing from man the manner. He contended, that he who, upon the whole, receives the Christian religion as of divine inspiration, must be contented to depend upon God's truth, and his holy word, and receive with humble faith the mysteries which are too high for comprehension. Above all, Swift points out, with his usual forcible precision, the mischievous tendency of those investigations which, while they assail one fundamental doctrine of the Christian religion, shake and endanger the whole fabric, destroy the settled faith of thousands, pervert and mislead the genius of the learned and acute, destroy and confound the religious principles of the simple and ignorant.

It cannot be denied, that Swift's political propensities break forth more keenly in many of these discourses, than, perhaps, suited the sacred place where they were originally delivered. The Sermons on the Martyrdom of Charles, on the Condition of Ireland, and on Doing Good, approach too nearly to the character of political essays. In those on Brotherly Love, on False Witness, and some others, traces of the same party violence are to be found. The Dean's peculiar strain of humour sometimes, too, displays itself without rigid attention to decorum, of which the singular Sermon on Sleeping in Church is a curious instance.

But, on the whole, the admirers of Swift may claim for his Sermons a liberal share of the approbation due to his other productions. Twelve only have been recovered by the industry of Mr Nicols, and preceding editors.

THE following Form of Prayer, which Dr Swift constantly used in the pulpit before his sermon, is copied from his own hand-writing:—

“ Almighty and most merciful God! forgive us all our sins. Give us grace heartily to repent them, and to lead new lives. Graft in our hearts a true love and veneration for thy holy name and word. Make thy pastors burning and shining lights, able to convince gainsayers, and to save others and themselves. Bless this congregation here met together in thy name; grant them to hear and receive thy holy word, to the salvation of their own souls. Lastly, we desire to return thee praise and thanksgiving for all thy mercies bestowed upon us; but chiefly for the Fountain of them all, Jesus Christ our Lord, in whose name and words we further call upon thee, saying, ‘ Our Father,’ &c.”

SERMON I.

THE

DIFFICULTY OF KNOWING ONE'S-SELF.*

2 KINGS, viii. PART OF THE 13TH VERSE.

And Hazael said, But what ! is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing ?

WE have a very singular instance of the deceitfulness of the heart, represented to us in the person of Hazael ;

* “ When I first gave this Sermon to be published, I had some doubts whether it were genuine ; for, though I found it in the same parcel with three others in the Dean’s own hand, and there was a great similitude in the writing, yet, as some of the letters were differently cut, and the hand in general much fairer than his, I gave it to the world as dubious. But as some manuscripts of his early poems have since fallen into my hands, transcribed by Stella, I found, upon comparing them, that the writing was exactly the same with that of the Sermon ; which was therefore copied by her. Swift, in his Journal to that lady, takes notice that he had been her writing-master, and that there was such a strong resemblance between their hands, as gave occasion to some of his friends to rally him, upon seeing some of her letters addressed to him at the bar of the coffee-house, by asking him, how long he had taken up the custom of writing letters to himself ? So that I can now fairly give it to the public as one of his, and not at all unworthy of the author.” H.

who was sent to the prophet Elisha, to inquire of the Lord concerning his master the King of Syria's recovery. For the man of God, having told him that the king might recover from the disorder he was then labouring under, began to set and fasten his countenance upon him of a sudden, and to break out into the most violent expressions of sorrow, and a deep concern for it; whereupon, when Hazael, full of shame and confusion, asked, "Why weepeth my lord?" he answered, "Because I know all the evil that thou wilt do unto the children of Israel: their strongholds wilt thou set on fire, and their young men wilt thou slay with the sword, and wilt dash their children, and rip up their women with child." Thus much did the man of God say and know of him, by a light darted into his mind from heaven. But Hazael, not knowing himself so well as the other did, was startled and amazed at the relation, and would not believe it possible that a man of his temper could ever run out into such enormous instances of cruelty and inhumanity. "What!" says he, "is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?"

And yet, for all this, it is highly probable, that he was then that man he could not imagine himself to be; for we find him, on the very next day after his return, in a very treacherous and disloyal manner, murdering his own master, and usurping his kingdom; which was but a prologue to the sad tragedy which he afterwards acted upon the people of Israel.

And now the case is but very little better with most men, than it was with Hazael; however it cometh to pass, they are wonderfully unacquainted with their own temper and disposition, and know very little of what passeth within them; for, of so many proud, ambitious,

revengeful, envying, and ill-natured persons, that are in the world, where is there one of them, who, although he hath all the symptoms of the vice appearing upon every occasion, can look with such an impartial eye upon himself, as to believe that the imputation thrown upon him is not altogether groundless and unfair? who, if he were told, by men of a discerning spirit and a strong conjecture, of all the evil and absurd things which that false heart of his would at one time or other betray him into, would not believe as little, and wonder as much, as Ha-zael did before him? Thus, for instance; tell an angry person that he is weak and impotent, and of no consistency of mind; tell him, that such or such a little accident, which he may then despise and think much below a passion, shall hereafter make him say and do several absurd, indiscreet, and misbecoming things; he may perhaps own that he hath a spirit of resentment within him, that will not let him be imposed on; but he fondly imagines, that he can lay a becoming restraint upon it when he pleaseth, although it is ever running away with him into some indecency or other.

Therefore, to bring the words of my text to our present occasion, I shall endeavour, in a farther prosecution of them, to evince the great necessity of a nice and curious inspection into the several recesses of the heart, being the surest and the shortest method that a wicked man can take to reform himself; for let us but stop the fountain, and the streams will spend and waste themselves away in a very little time; but if we go about, like children, to raise a bank, and to stop the current, not taking notice all the while of the spring which continually feedeth it, when the next flood of temptation

riseth, and breaketh in upon it, then we shall find that we have begun at the wrong end of our duty ; and that we are very little more the better for it, than if we had sat still, and made no advances at all.

But, in order to a clearer explanation of the point, I shall speak to these following particulars :—

First, By endeavouring to prove, from particular instances, that man is generally the most ignorant creature in the world of himself.

Secondly, By inquiring into the grounds and reasons of his ignorance.

Thirdly and lastly, By proposing several advantages, that do most assuredly attend a due improvement in the knowledge of ourselves.

First, then, to prove that man is generally the most ignorant creature in the world of himself.

To pursue the heart of man through all the instances of life, in all its several windings and turnings, and under that infinite variety of shapes and appearances which it putteth on, would be a difficult and almost impossible undertaking ; so that I shall confine myself to such as have a nearer reference to the present occasion, and do, upon a closer view, shew themselves through the whole business of repentance. For we all know what it is to repent ; but whether he repenteth him truly of his sins or not, who can know it ?

Now the great duty of repentance is chiefly made up of these two parts ; a hearty sorrow for the follies and miscarriages of the time past, and a full purpose and resolution of amendment for the time to come. And now,

to shew the falseness of the heart in both these parts of repentance ; and,

First, As to a hearty sorrow for the sins and miscarriages of the time past. Is there a more usual thing than for a man to impose upon himself, by putting on a grave and demure countenance, by casting a severe look into his past conduct, and making some few pious and devout reflections upon it ; and then to believe that he hath repented to an excellent purpose, without ever letting it step forth into practice, and shew itself in a holy conversation ? Nay, some persons do carry the deceit a little higher ; who, if they can but bring themselves to weep for their sins, are then full of an ill-grounded confidence and security ; never considering, that all this may prove to be no more than the very garb and outward dress of a contrite heart, which another heart, as hard as the nether millstone, may as well put on. For tears and sighs, however in some persons they may be decent and commendable expressions of a godly sorrow, are neither necessary nor infallible signs of a true and unfeigned repentance. Not necessary, because sometimes, and in some persons, the inward grief and anguish of the mind may be too big to be expressed by so little a thing as a tear, and then it turneth its edge inward upon the mind ; and, like those wounds of the body which bleed inwardly, generally proves the most fatal and dangerous to the whole body of sin ; not infallible, because a very small portion of sorrow may make some tender dispositions melt, and break out into tears ; or a man may perhaps weep at parting with his sins, as he would bid the last farewell to an old friend.

But there is still a more pleasant cheat in this affair, that when we find a deadness, and a strange kind of un-

aptness and indisposition to all impressions of religion, and that we cannot be as truly sorry for our sins as we should be, we then pretend to be sorry that we are not more sorry for them ; which is not more absurd and irrational, than that a man should pretend to be very angry at a thing, because he did not know how to be angry at all.

But, after all, what is wanting in this part of repentance, we expect to make up in the next ; and to that purpose we put on a resolution of amendment, which we take to be as firm as a house built upon a rock ; so that, let the floods arise, and the winds blow, and the streams beat vehemently upon it, nothing shall shake it into ruin or disorder. We doubt not, upon the strength of this resolve, to stand fast and unmoved amid the storm of a temptation ; and do firmly believe, at the time we make it, that nothing in the world will ever be able to make us commit those sins over again, which we have so firmly resolved against.

Thus many a time have we come to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, with a full purpose of amendment, and with as full a persuasion of putting that same purpose into practice ; and yet have we not all as often broke that good purpose, and falsified that same persuasion, by starting aside, like a broken bow, into those very sins, which we then so solemnly and so confidently declared against ?

Whereas had but any other person entered with us into a vow so solemn, that he had taken the Holy Sacrament upon it ; I believe, had he but once deceived us by breaking in upon the vow, we should hardly ever after be prevailed upon to trust that man again, although we still continue to trust our own fears, against reason and against experience.

This indeed is a dangerous deceit enough, and will of course betray all those well-meaning persons into sin and folly, who are apt to take religion for a much easier thing than it is. But this is not the only mistake we are apt to run into; we do not only think sometimes that we can do more than we can do, but sometimes that we are incapable of doing so much: an error of another kind indeed, but not less dangerous, arising from a diffidence and false humility. For how much a wicked man can do in the business of religion, if he would but do his best, is very often more than he can tell.

Thus nothing is more common than to see a wicked man running headlong into sin and folly, against his reason, against his religion, and against his God. Tell him, that what he is going to do will be an infinite disparagement to his understanding, which, at another time, he setteth no small value upon; tell him, that it will blacken his reputation, which he had rather die for than lose; tell him, that the pleasure of sin is short and transient, and leaveth a vexatious kind of sting behind it, which will very hardly be drawn forth; tell him, that this is one of those things for which God will most surely bring him to judgment, which he pretendeth to believe with a full assurance and persuasion: and yet, for all this, he shutteth his eyes against all conviction, and rusheth into the sin like a horse into battle; as if he had nothing left to do, but, like a silly child, to wink hard, and to think to escape a certain and infinite mischief, only by endeavouring not to see it.

And now, to shew that the heart hath given in a false report of the temptation, we may learn from this; that the same weak man would resist and master the same powerful temptation, upon considerations of infinitely

less value than those which religion offereth ; nay, such vile considerations, that the grace of God cannot, without blasphemy, be supposed to add any manner of force and efficacy to them. Thus, for instance, it would be a hard matter to dress up a sin in such soft and tempting circumstances, that a truly covetous man would not resist for a considerable sum of money ; when neither the hopes of heaven, nor the fears of hell, could make an impression upon him before. But can anything be a surer indication of the deceitfulness of the heart, than thus to shew more courage, resolution, and activity, in an ill cause, than it doth in a good one ? and to exert itself to better purpose, when it is to serve its own pride, or lust, or revenge, or any other passion, than when it is to serve God upon motives of the gospel, and upon all the arguments that have ever been made use of to bring men over to religion and a good life ? And thus having shewn that man is wonderfully apt to deceive and impose upon himself, in passing through the several stages of that great duty, repentance, I proceed now, in the

Second place, To inquire into the grounds and reasons of this ignorance, and to shew whence it comes to pass that man, the only creature in the world that can reflect and look into himself, should know so little of what passeth within him, and be so very much unacquainted even with the standing dispositions and complexion of his own heart. The prime reason of it is, because we so very seldom converse with ourselves, and take so little notice of what passeth within us ; for a man can no more know his own heart, than he can know his own face, any other way than by reflection : he may as well tell over every feature of the smaller portions of his

face without the help of a looking-glass, as he can tell all the inward bents and tendencies of his soul, those standing features and lineaments of the inward man, and know all the various changes that this is liable to from custom, from passion, and from opinion, without a very frequent use of looking within himself.

For our passions and inclinations are not always upon the wing, and always moving toward their respective objects ; but retire now and then into the more dark and hidden recesses of the heart, where they lie concealed for a while, until a fresh occasion calls them forth again : so that not every transient oblique glance upon the mind, can bring a man into a thorough knowledge of all its strength and weaknesses ; for, a man may sometimes turn the eye of the mind inward upon itself, as he may behold his natural face in a glass, and go away, “ and straight forget what manner of man he was.” But a man must rather sit down and unravel every action of the past day into all its circumstances and particularities, and observe how every little thing moved and affected him, and what manner of impression it made upon his heart ; this, done with that frequency and carefulness which the importance of the duty doth require, would, in a short time, bring him into a nearer and more intimate acquaintance with himself.

But when men, instead of this, do pass away months and years in a perfect slumber of the mind, without once awaking it, it is no wonder they should be so very ignorant of themselves, and know very little more of what passeth within them than the very beasts which perish. But here it may not be amiss to inquire into the reasons why most men have so little conversation with themselves.

And, *first*, Because this reflection is a work and labour of the mind, and cannot be performed without some pain and difficulty : for, before a man can reflect upon himself, and look into his heart with a steady eye, he must contract his sight, and collect all his scattering and roving thoughts into some order and compass, that he may be able to take a clear and distinct view of them ; he must retire from the world for a while, and be unattentive to all impressions of sense ; and how hard and painful a thing must it needs be to a man of passion and infirmity, amid such a crowd of objects that are continually striking upon the sense, and soliciting the affections, not to be moved and interrupted by one or other of them !
But,

Secondly, Another reason why we so seldom converse with ourselves, is, because the business of the world taketh up all our time, and leaveth us no portion of it to spend upon this great work and labour of the mind. Thus twelve or fourteen years pass away before we can well discern good from evil ; and of the rest, so much goes away in sleep, so much in the proper business of our callings, that we have none to lay out upon the more serious and religious employments. Every man's life is an imperfect sort of a circle, which he repeateth and runneth over every day ; he hath a set of thoughts, desires, and inclinations, which return upon him in their proper time and order, and will very hardly be laid aside to make room for anything new and uncommon : so that call upon him when you please, to set about the study of his own heart, and you are sure to find him pre-engaged ; either he has some business to do, or some diversion to take, some acquaintance that he must visit, or some company that he must entertain, or some cross ac-

cident hath put him out of humour, and unfitted him for such a grave employment. And thus it cometh to pass, that a man can never find leisure to look into himself, because he doth not set apart some portion of the day for that very purpose, but foolishly deferreth from one day to another, until his glass is almost run out, and he is called upon to give a miserable account of himself in the other world. But,

Thirdly, Another reason why a man doth not more frequently converse with himself, is, because such conversation with his own heart may discover some vice, or some infirmity, lurking within him, which he is very unwilling to believe himself guilty of. For can there be a more ungrateful thing to a man, than to find that, upon a nearer view, he is not that person he took himself to be? that he had neither the courage, nor the honesty, nor the piety, nor the humility, that he dreamed he had? that a very little pain, for instance, putteth him out of patience, and as little pleasure softeneth and disarmeth him into ease and wantonness? that he hath been at more pains, and labour, and cost, to be revenged of an enemy, than to oblige the best friend he hath in the world? that he cannot bring himself to say his prayers, without a great deal of reluctancy; and when he doth say them, the spirit and fervour of devotion evaporate in a very short time; and he can scarcely hold out a prayer of ten lines, without a number of idle and impertinent, if not vain and wicked, thoughts coming into his head? These are very unwelcome discoveries that a man may make of himself; so that it is no wonder that every one who is already flushed with a good opinion of himself, should rather study how to run away from it, than how to converse with his own heart.

But farther, If a man were both able and willing to retire into his own heart, and to set apart some portion of the day for that very purpose; yet he is still disabled from passing a fair and impartial judgment upon himself, by several difficulties, arising partly from prejudice and prepossession, partly from the lower appetites and inclinations. And,

First, That the business of prepossession may lead and betray a man into a false judgment of his own heart. For we may observe, that the first opinion we take up of anything, or any person, doth generally stick close to us; the nature of the mind being such, that it cannot but desire, and consequently endeavour, to have some certain principles to go upon, something fixed and unmovable, whereon it may rest and support itself. And hence it cometh to pass, that some persons are, with so much difficulty, brought to think well of a man they have once entertained an ill opinion of: and, perhaps, that too for a very absurd and unwarrantable reason. But how much more difficult then must it be for a man, who taketh up a fond opinion of his own heart long before he hath either years or sense enough to understand it, either to be persuaded out of it by himself, whom he loveth so well, or by another, whose interest or diversion it may be to make him ashamed of himself! Then,

Secondly, As to the difficulties arising from the inferior appetites and inclinations; let any man look into his own heart, and observe in how different a light, and under what different complexions, any two sins of equal turpitude and malignity do appear to him, if he hath but a strong inclination to the one, and none at all to the other. That which he hath an inclination to, is always drest up in all the false beauty that a fond and busy imagination

can give it ; the other appeareth naked and deformed, and in all the true circumstances of folly and dishonour. Thus, stealing is a vice that few gentlemen are inclined to ; and they justly think it below the dignity of a man to stoop to so base and low a sin ; but no principle of honour, no workings of the mind and conscience, not the still voice of mercy, not the dreadful call of judgment, nor any considerations whatever, can put a stop to that violence and oppression, that pride and ambition, that revelling and wantonness, which we every day meet with in the world. Nay, it is easy to observe very different thoughts in a man of the sin that he is most fond of, according to the different ebbs and flows of his inclination to it. For, as soon as the appetite is alarmed, and seizeth upon the heart, a little cloud gathereth about the head, and spreadeth a kind of darkness over the face of the soul, whereby it is hindered from taking a clear and distinct view of things ; but no sooner is the appetite tired and satiated, but the same cloud passeth away like a shadow ; and a new light springing up in the mind of a sudden, the man seeth much more, both of the folly and of the danger of the sin, than he did before.

And thus, having done with the several reasons why man, the only creature in the world that can reflect and look into himself, is so very ignorant of what passeth within him, and so much unacquainted with the standing dispositions and complexions of his own heart : I proceed now, in the

Third and last place, to lay down several advantages, that do, most assuredly, attend a due improvement in the knowledge of ourselves. And,

First, One great advantage is, that it tendeth very

much to mortify and humble a man into a modest and low opinion of himself. For, let a man take a nice and curious inspection into all the several regions of the heart, and observe everything irregular and amiss within him : for instance, how narrow and short-sighted a thing is the understanding ! upon how little reason do we take up an opinion, and upon how much less sometimes do we lay it down again ! how weak and false ground do we often walk upon, with the biggest confidence and assurance ! and how tremulous and doubtful are we very often where no doubt is to be made ! Again : how wild and impertinent, how busy and incoherent a thing is the imagination, even in the best and wisest men ; insomuch, that every man may be said to be mad, but every man doth not shew it ! Then, as to the passions ; how noisy, how turbulent, and how tumultuous are they ! how easy they are stirred and set a-going, how eager and hot in the pursuit, and what strange disorder and confusion do they throw a man into ; so that he can neither think, nor speak, nor act, as he should do, while he is under the dominion of any one of them !

Thus, let every man look with a severe and impartial eye into all the distinct regions of the heart ; and, no doubt, several deformities and irregularities, that he never thought of, will open and disclose themselves upon so near a view ; and rather make the man ashamed of himself than proud.

Secondly, A due improvement in the knowledge of ourselves doth certainly secure us from the sly and insinuating assaults of flattery. There is not in the world a baser and more hateful thing than flattery : it proceedeth from so much falseness and insincerity in the man that giveth it, and often discovereth so much weakness

and folly in the man that taketh it, that it is hard to tell which of the two is most to be blamed. Every man of common sense can demonstrate in speculation, and may be fully convinced, that all the praises and commendations of the whole world, can add no more to the real and intrinsic value of a man, than they can add to his stature. And yet, for all this, men of the best sense and piety, when they come down to the practice, cannot forbear thinking much better of themselves, when they have the good fortune to be spoken well of by other persons.

But the meaning of this absurd proceeding seemeth to be no other than this : there are few men that have so intimate an acquaintance with their own hearts, as to know their own real worth, and how to set a just rate upon themselves ; and therefore they do not know but that he who praises them most, may be most in the right of it. For, no doubt, if a man were ignorant of the true value of a thing he loved as well as himself, he would measure the worth of it according to the esteem of him who biddeth most for it, rather than of him that biddeth less.

Therefore, the most infallible way to disentangle a man from the snares of flattery, is, to consult and study his own heart ; for, whoever does that well, will hardly be so absurd as to take another man's word, before his own sense and experience.

Thirdly, Another advantage from this kind of study is this, that it teacheth a man how to behave himself patiently, when he has the ill fortune to be censured and abused by other people. For a man, who is thoroughly acquainted with his own heart, doth already know more evil of himself, than anybody else can tell.

him ; and when any one speaketh ill of him, he rather thanketh God that he can say no worse : for, could his enemy but look into the dark and hidden recesses of the heart, he considereth what a number of impure thoughts he might there see brooding and hovering, like a dark cloud, upon the face of the soul ; that there he might take a prospect of the fancy, and view it acting over the several scenes of pride, of ambition, of envy, of lust, and revenge ; that there he might tell how often a vicious inclination hath been restrained, for no other reason, but just to save the man's credit or interest in the world ; and how many unbecoming ingredients have entered into the composition of his best actions. And now, what man in the whole world would be able to bear so severe a test ? to have every thought and inward motion of the heart laid open and exposed to the views of his enemies ? But,

Fourthly, and lastly, Another advantage of this kind is, that it maketh men less severe upon other people's faults, and less busy and industrious in spreading them. For a man, employed at home, inspecting into his own failings, hath not leisure to take notice of every little spot and blemish that lieth scattered upon others ; or, if he cannot escape the sight of them, he always passes the most easy and favourable construction upon them. Thus, for instance, does the ill he knoweth of a man proceed from an unhappy temper and constitution of body ? he then considereth with himself, how hard a thing it is, not to be borne down with the current of the blood and spirits ; and accordingly layeth some part of the blame upon the weakness of human nature, for he hath felt the force and rapidity of it within his own breast ; although, perhaps, in another instance,

he remembereth how it rageth and swelleth by opposition ; and, although it may be restrained, or diverted for a while, yet it can hardly ever be totally subdued.

Or, has the man sinned out of custom ? he then, from his own experience, traceth a habit into the very first rise and imperfect beginnings of it ; and can tell by how slow and insensible advances it creepeth upon the heart ; how it worketh itself, by degrees, into the very frame and texture of it, and so passeth into a second nature ; and consequently he hath a just sense of the great difficulty for him to learn to do good, who hath been long accustomed to do evil.

Or, lastly, hath a false opinion betrayed him into a sin ? he then calleth to mind what wrong apprehensions he hath made of some things himself ; how many opinions, that he once made no doubt of, he hath, upon a stricter examination, found to be doubtful and uncertain ; how many more to be unreasonable and absurd. He knoweth farther, that there are a great many more opinions that he hath never yet examined into at all, and which, however, he still believeth, for no other reason, but because he hath believed them so long already without a reason.

Thus, upon every occasion, a man intimately acquainted with himself, consulteth his own heart, and maketh every man's case to be his own, and so puts the most favourable interpretation upon it. Let every man, therefore, look into his own heart, before he beginneth to abuse the reputation of another ; and then he will hardly be so absurd as to throw a dart that will so certainly rebound and wound himself. And thus, through the whole course of his conversation, let him keep an eye upon that one great comprehensive rule of Christian

duty, on which hangeth, not only the law and the prophets, but the very life and spirit of the Gospel too : “ Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.” Which rule that we may all duly observe, by throwing aside all scandal and detraction, all spite and rancour, all rudeness and contempt, all rage and violence, and whatever tendeth to make conversation and commerce either uneasy or troublesome, may the God of peace grant, for Jesus Christ his sake, &c.

Consider what hath been said ; and the Lord give you a right understanding in all things. To whom, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and for ever.

SERMON II.
ON THE TRINITY.

FIRST PRINTED IN 1744.

FIRST EPISTLE GENERAL OF JOHN, v. 7.

For there are three that bear record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these Three are One.

OF this discourse Lord Orrery has said, “ It is indeed a sermon, and one of the best of its kind. The mysterious parts of our religion are apt to have dreadful effects upon weak minds. The general comments upon the Sacred Writings, and the several sermons upon the most abstruse points of Scripture, are too often composed in the gloomy style. Damnation, eternal damnation, is placed with all its horror before our eyes; and we are so terrified at the prospect, that fear makes us imagine we can comprehend mysteries, which, on this side of the grave, must be for ever denied to limited understandings. Swift has taken the safest and properest method of expounding these *arcana*. He advances every position that can be established upon so incomprehensible a subject. He sustains the belief, avows the doctrine, and adapts the matter of faith, as well as possible, to the human capacity. His manner of reasoning is masterly, and his arguments are nervous.”

The best illustration of the Dean's intentions in preaching this sermon, occurs amongst his Thoughts on Religion. "To remove opinions fundamental in religion is impossible, and the attempt wicked, whether those opinions be true or false, unless your avowed design be to abolish that religion altogether. So, for instance, in the famous doctrine of Christ's divinity, which has been universally received by all bodies of Christians, since the condemnation of Arianism under Constantine and his successors; wherefore, the proceedings of the Socinians are both vain and unwarrantable, because they will never be able to advance their own opinion, or meet any other success, than breeding doubts and disturbances in the world.—*Qui ratione sua disturbant mœnia mundi.*—The want of belief is a defect that ought to be concealed, when it cannot be overcome. The Christian religion, in the most early times, was proposed to the Jews and heathens without the article of Christ's divinity, which I remember Erasmus accounts for, by its being too strong a meat for babes. Perhaps if it were now softened by the Chinese missionaries, the conversion of these infidels would be less difficult; and we find by the Alcoran, it is the great stumbling-block of the Mahometans. But in a country already Christian, to bring so fundamental a point of faith into dispute, can have no consequences that are not pernicious to morals and public peace."

THIS day being set apart to acknowledge our belief in the Eternal Trinity, I thought it might be proper to employ my present discourse entirely upon that subject; and I hope to handle it in such a manner, that the most ignorant among you may return home better informed of your duty in this great point, than probably you are at present.

It must be confessed, that by the weakness and indiscretion of busy, or, at best, of well-meaning people, as well as by the malice of those who are enemies to all revealed religion, and are not content to possess their own

infidelity in silence, without communicating it, to the disturbance of mankind ; I say, by these means, it must be confessed that the doctrine of the Trinity hath suffered very much, and made Christianity suffer along with it. For these two things must be granted : first, that men of wicked lives would be very glad there were no truth in Christianity at all ; and, secondly, if they can pick out any one single article in the Christian religion, which appears not agreeable to their own corrupted reason, or to the arguments of those bad people who follow the trade of seducing others, they presently conclude, that the truth of the whole gospel must sink along with that one article. Which is just as wise, as if a man should say, because he dislikes one law of his country, he will therefore observe no law at all ; and yet that one law may be very reasonable in itself, although he does not allow it, or does not know the reason of the law-givers.

Thus it hath happened with the great doctrine of the Trinity ; which word is indeed not in the scripture, but was a term of art invented in the earlier times to express the doctrine by a single word, for the sake of brevity and convenience. The doctrine, then, as delivered in holy scripture, though not exactly in the same words, is very short, and amounts only to this : that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are each of them God, and yet there is but one God. For as to the word Person, when we say there are three Persons ; and as to those other explanations in the Athanasian Creed, this day read to you. (whether compiled by Athanasius or not,) they were taken up three hundred years after Christ, to expound this doctrine ; and I will tell you upon what occasion. About that time there sprang up

a heresy of people called Arians, from one Arius, the leader of them. These denied our Saviour to be God, although they allowed all the rest of the gospel; wherein they were more sincere than their followers among us. Thus the Christian world was divided into two parts, till at length, by the zeal and courage of St Athanasius, the Arians were condemned in a general council, and a creed formed upon the true faith, as St Athanasius hath settled it. This creed is now read at certain times in our churches, which, although it is useful for edification to those who understand it, yet, since it contains some nice and philosophical points which few people can comprehend, the bulk of mankind is obliged to believe no more than the scripture doctrine, as I have already delivered it; because that creed was intended only as an answer to the Arians, in their own way, who were very subtle disputers.

But this heresy having revived in the world about a hundred years ago, and continued ever since; not out of a zeal to truth, but to give a loose to wickedness by throwing off all religion; several divines, in order to answer the cavils of those adversaries to truth and morality, began to find out farther explanations of this doctrine of the Trinity, by rules of philosophy; which have multiplied controversies to such a degree, as to beget scruples that have perplexed the minds of many sober Christians, who otherwise could never have entertained them.

I must therefore be bold to affirm, that the method taken by many of those learned men to defend the doctrine of the Trinity, hath been founded upon a mis-
take. *Simple word*

It must be allowed, that every man is bound to fol-

low the rules and directions of that measure of reason which God hath given him ; and indeed he cannot do otherwise, if he will be sincere, or act like a man. For instance : if I should be commanded by an angel from heaven to believe it is midnight at noon-day, yet I could not believe him. So, if I were directly told in Scripture that three are one, and one is three, I could not conceive or believe it in the natural common sense of that expression, but must suppose that something dark or mystical was meant, which it pleased God to conceal from me and from all the world. Thus in the text, “ There are Three that bear record,” &c. Am I capable of knowing and defining what union and what distinction there may be in the divine nature, which possibly may be hid from the angels themselves ? Again, I see it plainly declared in Scripture, that there is but one God ; and yet I find our Saviour claiming the prerogative of God in knowing men’s thoughts, in saying, “ He and his Father are one ;” and “ before Abraham was, I am.” I read, that the disciples worshipped him ; that Thomas said to him, “ My Lord and my God ;” and St John, chap. i. “ In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.” I read likewise, that the Holy Ghost bestowed the power of working miracles, and the gift of tongues, which, if rightly considered, is as great a miracle as any,—that a number of illiterate men should of a sudden be qualified to speak all the languages then known in the world—such as could be done by the inspiration of God alone. From these several texts, it is plain that God commands us to believe that there is a union, and there is a distinction ; but what that union, or what that distinction is, all mankind are

equally ignorant, and must continue so, at least till the day of judgment, without some new revelation.

But because I cannot conceive the nature of this union and distinction in the divine nature, am I therefore to reject them as absurd and impossible, as I would if any one told me that three men are one, and one man is three? We are told, that a man and his wife are one flesh; this I can comprehend the meaning of; yet, literally taken, it is a thing impossible. But the apostle tells us, "We see but in part, and we know but in part;" and yet we would comprehend all the secret ways and workings of God.

Therefore I shall again repeat the doctrine of the Trinity, as it is positively affirmed in Scripture: that God is there expressed in three different names, as Father, as Son, and as Holy Ghost: that each of these is God, and that there is but one God. But this union and distinction are a mystery utterly unknown to mankind.

This is enough for any good Christian to believe on this great article, without ever inquiring any farther. And this can be contrary to no man's reason, although the knowledge of it is hid from him.

But there is another difficulty of great importance among those who quarrel with the doctrine of the Trinity, as well as with several other articles of Christianity; which is, that our religion abounds in mysteries, and these they are so bold as to revile as cant, imposture, and priestcraft. It is impossible for us to determine, for what reasons God thought fit to communicate some things to us in part, and leave some part a mystery: but so it is in fact, and so the holy Scriptures tell us in several places. For instance: the resurrection and change of our bodies are called mysteries by St Paul; and our

Saviour's incarnation is another : the kingdom of God is called a mystery by our Saviour, to be only known to his disciples ; so is faith, and the Word of God, by St Paul. I omit many others. So that to declare against all mysteries, without distinction or exception, is to declare against the whole tenor of the New Testament.

There are two conditions that may bring a mystery under suspicion. First, when it is not taught and commanded in holy writ ; or, secondly, when the mystery turns to the advantage of those who preach it to others. Now, as to the first, it can never be said that we preach mysteries without warrant from holy Scripture, although I confess this of the Trinity may have sometimes been explained by human invention, which might perhaps better have been spared. As to the second, it will not be possible to charge the Protestant priesthood with proposing any temporal advantage to themselves by broaching, or multiplying, or preaching of mysteries. Does this mystery of the Trinity, for instance, and the descent of the Holy Ghost, bring the least profit or power to the preachers ? No ; it is as great a mystery to themselves as it is to the meanest of their hearers ; and may be rather a cause of humiliation, by putting their understanding, in that point, upon a level with the most ignorant of their flock. It is true, indeed, the Roman church hath very much enriched herself by trading in mysteries, for which they have not the least authority from Scripture, and which were fitted only to advance their own temporal wealth and grandeur ; such as transubstantiation, the worshipping of images, indulgences for sins, purgatory, and masses for the dead ; with many more. But it is the perpetual talent of those who have ill-will to our church, or a contempt for all

religion, taken up by the wickedness of their lives, to charge us with the errors and corruptions of Popery, which all Protestants have thrown off near two hundred years : whereas those mysteries held by us have no prospect of power, pomp, or wealth, but have been ever maintained by the universal body of true believers from the days of the apostles, and will be so to the resurrection ; neither will the gates of hell prevail against them.

It may be thought, perhaps, a strange thing, that God should require us to believe mysteries, while the reason or manner of what we are to believe is above our comprehension, and wholly concealed from us : neither doth it appear at first sight, that the believing or not believing them doth concern either the glory of God, or contribute to the goodness or wickedness of our lives. But this is a great and dangerous mistake. We see what a mighty weight is laid upon faith, both in the Old and New Testament. In the former, we read how the faith of Abraham is praised, who could believe that God would raise from him a great nation, at the very time that he was commanded to sacrifice his only son, and despaired of any other issue : and this was to him a great mystery. Our Saviour is perpetually preaching faith to his disciples, or reproaching them with the want of it : and St Paul produceth numerous examples of the wonders done by faith. And all this is highly reasonable : for faith is an entire dependence upon the truth, the power, the justice, and the mercy of God ; which dependence will certainly incline us to obey him in all things. So that the great excellency of faith consists in the consequence it hath upon our actions : as, if we depend upon the truth and wisdom of a man, we shall certainly be more disposed to follow his advice. There-

fore let no man think that he can lead as good a moral life without faith as with it ; for this reason, because he who hath no faith cannot, by the strength of his own reason or endeavours, so easily resist temptations as the other, who depends upon God's assistance in the overcoming his frailties, and is sure to be rewarded for ever in heaven for his victory over them. " Faith," says the apostle, " is the evidence of things not seen : " he means, that faith is a virtue, by which anything commanded us by God to believe appears evident and certain to us, although we do not see, nor can conceive it ; because by faith we entirely depend upon the truth and power of God.

It is an old and true distinction, that things may be above our reason, without being contrary to it. Of this kind are the power, the nature, and the universal presence of God, with innumerable other points. How little do those who quarrel with mysteries know of the commonest actions of nature ! The growth of an animal, of a plant, or of the smallest seed, is a mystery to the wisest among men. If an ignorant person were told, that a loadstone would draw iron at a distance, he might say it was a thing contrary to his reason, and could not believe before he saw it with his eyes.

The manner whereby the soul and body are united, and how they are distinguished, is wholly unaccountable to us. We see but one part, and yet we know we consist of two ; and this is a mystery we cannot comprehend, any more than that of the Trinity.

From what hath been said, it is manifest that God did never command us to believe, nor his ministers to preach, any doctrine which is contrary to the reason he hath pleased to endow us with, but, for his own wise ends, has thought fit to conceal from us the nature of the thing he

commands ; thereby to try our faith and obedience, and increase our dependence upon him.

It is highly probable, that if God should please to reveal unto us this great mystery of the Trinity, or some other mysteries in our holy religion, we should not be able to understand them, unless he would, at the same time, think fit to bestow on us some new powers or faculties of the mind which we want at present, and are reserved till the day of resurrection to life eternal. "For now," as the apostle says, "we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face."

Thus, we see, the matter is brought to this issue : we must either believe what God directly commands us in holy Scripture, or we must wholly reject the Scripture, and the Christian religion, which we pretend to profess. But this, I hope, is too desperate a step for any of us to make.

I have already observed, that those who preach up the belief of the Trinity, or of any other mystery, cannot propose any temporal advantage to themselves by so doing. But this is not the case of those who oppose these doctrines. Do they lead better moral lives than a good Christian ? are they more just in their dealings ? more chaste, or temperate, or charitable ? Nothing at all of this ; but, on the contrary, their intent is to overthrow all religion, that they may gratify their vices without any reproach from the world, or their own conscience : and are zealous to bring over as many others as they can to their own opinions ; because it is some kind of imaginary comfort to have a multitude on their side.

There is no miracle mentioned in holy writ, which, if it were strictly examined, is not as much contrary to common reason, and as much a mystery, as this doc-

trine of the Trinity; and therefore we may, with equal justice, deny the truth of them all. For instance: it is against the laws of nature, that a human body should be able to walk upon the water, as St Peter is recorded to have done; or that a dead carcass should be raised from the grave after three days, when it began to corrupt; which those who understand anatomy will pronounce to be impossible by the common rules of nature and reason. Yet these miracles, and many others, are positively affirmed in the gospel; and these we must believe, or give up our holy religion to atheists and infidels.

I shall now make a few inferences and observations upon what has been said.

First, It would be well, if people would not lay so much weight on their own reason in matters of religion, as to think everything impossible and absurd which they cannot conceive. How often do we contradict the right rules of reason in the whole course of our lives! Reason itself is true and just, but the reason of every particular man is weak and wavering, perpetually swayed and turned by his interests, his passions, and his vices. Let any man but consider, when he hath a controversy with another, though his cause be ever so unjust, though the whole world be against him, how blinded he is by the love of himself, to believe that right is wrong, and wrong is right, when it makes for his own advantage. Where is then the right use of his reason, which he so much boasts of, and which he would blasphemously set up to control the commands of the Almighty?

Secondly, When men are tempted to deny the mysteries of religion, let them examine and search into their own hearts, whether they have not some favourite sin,

which is of their party in this dispute, and which is equally contrary to other commands of God in the gospel. For, why do men love darkness rather than light? The Scripture tells us, "Because their deeds are evil;" and there can be no other reason assigned. Therefore, when men are curious and inquisitive to discover some weak sides in Christianity, and inclined to favour everything that is offered to its disadvantage, it is plain they wish it were not true; and those wishes can proceed from nothing but an evil conscience; because, if there be truth in our religion, their condition must be miserable.

And therefore, *thirdly*, Men should consider, that raising difficulties concerning the mysteries in religion, cannot make them more wise, learned, or virtuous; better neighbours, or friends, or more serviceable to their country; but, whatever they pretend, will destroy their inward peace of mind by perpetual doubts and fears arising in their breasts. And God forbid we should ever see the times so bad, when dangerous opinions in religion will be a means to get favour and preferment; although, even in such a case, it would be an ill traffic to gain the world, and lose our own souls. So that, upon the whole, it will be impossible to find any real use toward a virtuous or happy life, by denying the mysteries of the gospel.

Fourthly, Those strong unbelievers, who expect that all mysteries should be squared and fitted to their own reason, might have somewhat to say for themselves, if they could satisfy the general reason of mankind in their opinions; but herein they are miserably defective, absurd, and ridiculous; they strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel; they can believe that the world was made by chance; that God doth not concern himself with things

below ; will neither punish vice nor reward virtue ; that religion was invented by cunning men to keep the world in awe ; with many other opinions equally false and detestable, against the common light of nature as well as reason ; against the universal sentiments of all civilized nations, and offensive to the ears even of a sober hearer.

Lastly, Since the world abounds with pestilent books particularly written against this doctrine of the Trinity, it is fit to inform you, that the authors of them proceed wholly upon a mistake : they would shew how impossible it is, that three can be one, and one can be three ; whereas the Scripture saith no such thing, at least in that manner they would make it : but only that there is some kind of unity and distinction in the divine nature, which mankind cannot possibly comprehend : thus the whole doctrine is short and plain, and in itself incapable of any controversy : since God himself hath pronounced the fact, but wholly concealed the manner. And therefore many divines, who thought fit to answer those wicked books, have been mistaken too by answering fools in their folly, and endeavouring to explain a mystery, which God intended to keep secret from us. And as I would exhort all men to avoid reading those wicked books written against this doctrine, as dangerous and pernicious ; so I think they may omit the answers, as unnecessary. This, I confess, will probably affect but few or none among the generality of our congregations, who do not much trouble themselves with books, at least of this kind. However, many, who do not read themselves, are seduced by others that do, and thus become unbelievers upon trust and at second-hand ; and this is too frequent a case : for which reason, I have endeavour-

ed to put this doctrine upon a short and sure foot, levelled to the meanest understanding ; by which we may, as the apostle directs, be ready always to give an answer to every man that asketh us a reason of the hope that is in us, with meekness and fear.

And thus I have done with my subject, which probably I should not have chosen, if I had not been invited to it by the occasion of this season, appointed on purpose to celebrate the mysteries of the Trinity, and the descent of the Holy Ghost, wherein we pray to be kept stedfast in this faith ; and what this faith is I have shewn you in the plainest manner I could. For, upon the whole, it is no more than this : God commands us, by our dependence upon his truth, and his holy word, to believe a fact that we do not understand. And this is no more than what we do every-day in the works of nature, upon the credit of men of learning. Without faith we can do no works acceptable to God ; for if they proceed from any other principle, they will not advance our salvation ; and this faith, as I have explained it, we may acquire without giving up our senses, or contradicting our reason. May God of his infinite mercy inspire us with true faith in every article and mystery of our holy religion, so as to dispose us to do what is pleasing in his sight ; and this we pray through Jesus Christ, to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, the mysterious, incomprehensible ONE GOD, be all honour and glory now and for evermore ! *Amen.*

SERMON III.

ON

MUTUAL SUBJECTION.*

FIRST PRINTED IN 1744.

 1 PETER, v. 5.

—*Yea, all of you, be subject one to another.*

THE Apostle having, in many parts of this epistle, given directions to Christians concerning the duty of subjection or obedience to superiors; in the several instances of the subject to the prince, the child to his parent, the servant to his master, the wife to her husband, and the younger to the elder; doth here, in the words of my text, sum up the whole, by advancing a point of doctrine, which at first may appear a little extraordinary; “Yea, all of you,” saith he, “be subject one to another.” For it should seem, that two persons cannot properly be said to be subject to each other, and that subjection is only

* “A clearer style, or a discourse more properly adapted to a public audience, can scarce be framed. Every paragraph is simple, nervous, and intelligible. The threads of each argument are closely connected, and logically pursued.”—*Orrery*.

due from inferiors to those above them : yet St Paul hath several passages to the same purpose. For he exhorts the Romans, “ in honour to prefer one another ;” and the Philippians, “ that in lowliness of mind they should each esteem other better than themselves ;” and the Ephesians, “ that they should submit themselves one to another in the fear of the Lord.” Here we find these two great apostles recommending to all Christians this duty of mutual subjection. For we may observe, by St Peter, that having mentioned the several relations which men bear to each other, as governor and subject, master and servant, and the rest which I have already repeated, he makes no exception, but sums up the whole with commanding “ all to be subject one to another.” Whence we may conclude, that this subjection due from all men to all men, is something more than the compliment of course, when our betters are pleased to tell us they are our humble servants, but understand us to be their slaves.

I know very well, that some of those who explain this text apply it to humility, to the duties of charity, to private exhortations, and to bearing with each other's infirmities ; and it is probable the apostle may have had a regard to all these. But, however, many learned men agree, that there is something more understood, and so the words in their plain natural meaning must import ; as you will observe yourselves, if you read them with the beginning of the verse, which is thus : “ Likewise, ye younger, submit yourselves unto the elder ; yea, all of you, be subject one to another.” So that, upon the whole, there must be some kind of subjection due from every man to every man, which cannot be made void by any power, pre-eminence, or authority whatsoever. Now

what sort of subjection this is, and how^d it ought to be paid, shall be the subject of my present discourse.

As God hath contrived all the works of nature to be useful, and in some manner a support, to each other, by which the whole frame of the world, under his providence, is preserved and kept up; so among mankind our particular stations are appointed to each of us by God Almighty, wherein we are obliged to act, as far as our power reacheth, toward the good of the whole community. And he who doth not perform that part assigned him toward advancing the benefit of the whole, in proportion to his opportunities and abilities, is not only a useless, but a very mischievous, member of the public; because he takes the share of the profit, and yet leaves his share of the burden to be borne by others, which is the true principal cause of most miseries and misfortunes in life. For a wise man, who does not assist with his counsels; a great man, with his protection; a rich man, with his bounty and charity; and a poor man, with his labour; are perfect nuisances in a commonwealth. Neither is any condition of life more honourable in the sight of God than another; otherwise he would be a respecter of persons, which he assures us he is not: for he hath proposed the same salvation to all men, and hath only placed them in different ways or stations to work it out. Princes are born with no more advantages of strength or wisdom than other men; and, by an unhappy education, are usually more defective in both than thousands of their subjects. They depend for every necessary of life upon the meanest of their people: besides, obedience and subjection were never enjoined by God to humour the passions, lusts, and vanities, of those who demand them from us; but we are commanded to

obey our governors, because disobedience would breed seditions in the state. Thus servants are directed to obey their masters, children their parents, and wives their husbands ; not from any respect of persons in God, but because otherwise there would be nothing but confusion in private families. This matter will be clearly explained, by considering the comparison which St Paul makes between the church of Christ and the body of man : for the same resemblance will hold, not only to families and kingdoms, but to the whole corporation of mankind. “ The eye,” saith he, “ cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee ; nor again the hand to the feet, I have no need of you. Nay, much more, those members of the body which seem to be more feeble, are necessary : and whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it ; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it.” The case is directly the same among mankind. The prince cannot say to the merchant, I have no need of thee ; nor the merchant to the labourer, I have no need of thee. Nay, much more, those members which seem to be more feeble are necessary ; for the poor are generally more necessary members of the commonwealth than the rich : which clearly shews, that God never intended such possessions for the sake and service of those to whom he lends them ; but because he hath assigned every man his particular station to be useful in life, and this for the reason given by the apostle, “ that there may be no schism in the body.”

From hence may partly be gathered the nature of that subjection, which we all owe to one another. God Almighty hath been pleased to put us into an imperfect state, where we have perpetual occasion of each other's assistance. There is none so low, as not to be in

a capacity of assisting the highest ; nor so high, as not to want the assistance of the lowest.

It plainly appears, from what hath been said, that no one human creature is more worthy than another in the sight of God, farther than according to the goodness or holiness of their lives ; and that power, wealth, and the like outward advantages, are so far from being the marks of God's approving or preferring those on whom they are bestowed, that, on the contrary, he is pleased to suffer them to be almost engrossed by those who have least title to his favour. Now, according to this equality wherein God hath placed all mankind with relation to himself, you will observe, that in all the relations between man and man, there is a mutual dependence, whereby the one cannot subsist without the other. Thus, no man can be a prince without subjects, nor a master without servants, nor a father without children. And this both explains and confirms the doctrine of the text : for where there is a mutual dependence there must be a mutual duty, and consequently a mutual subjection. For instance, the subject must only obey the prince, because God commands it, human laws require it, and the safety of the public makes it necessary ; for the same reasons we must obey all that are in authority, and submit ourselves not only to the good and gentle, but also to the froward, whether they rule according to our liking or no. On the other side, in those countries that pretend to freedom, princes are subject to those laws which their people have chosen ; they are bound to protect their subjects in liberty, property, and religion, to receive their petitions, and redress their grievances ; so that the best prince is, in the opinion of wise men, only the greatest servant of the nation ; not only a servant

to the public in general, but in some sort to every man in it. In the like manner, a servant owes obedience, and diligence, and faithfulness, to his master ; from whom, at the same time, he hath a just demand for protection, and maintenance, and gentle treatment. Nay, even the poor beggar hath a just demand of an alms from the rich man ; who is guilty of fraud, injustice, and oppression, if he does not afford relief according to his abilities.

But this subjection we all owe one to another, is nowhere more necessary than in the common conversations of life ; for without it there could be no society among men. If the learned would not sometimes submit to the ignorant, the wise to the simple, the gentle to the forward, the old to the weaknesses of the young, there would be nothing but everlasting variance in the world. This our Saviour himself confirmed by his own example ; for he appeared in the form of a servant, and washed his disciples' feet, adding those memorable words : " Ye call me Lord and Master, and ye say well ; for so I am. If I then, your Lord and Master, wash your feet, how much more ought ye to wash one another's feet ?" Under which expression of washing the feet is included all that subjection, assistance, love, and duty, which every good Christian ought to pay his brother, in whatever station God hath placed him. For the greatest prince and the meanest slave, are not, by infinite degrees, so distant, as our Saviour and those disciples, whose feet he vouchsafed to wash.

And although this doctrine of subjecting ourselves to one another may seem to grate upon the pride and vanity of mankind, and may therefore be hard to be digested by those who value themselves upon their great-

ness or their wealth, yet it is really no more than what most men practise upon other occasions. For, if our neighbour, who is our inferior, comes to see us, we rise to receive him, we place him above us, and respect him, as if he were better than ourselves: and this is thought both decent and necessary, and is usually called good manners. Now, the duty required by the apostle, is only, that we should enlarge our minds, and that what we thus practise in the common course of life, we should imitate in all our actions and proceedings whatsoever; since our Saviour tells us that every man is our neighbour, and since we are so ready, in the point of civility, to yield to others, in our own houses, where only we have any title to govern.

Having thus shewn you what sort of subjection it is, which all men owe one to another, and in what manner it ought to be paid, I shall now draw some observations from what hath been said.

And, *first*, A thorough practice of this duty of subjecting ourselves to the wants and infirmities of each other, would utterly extinguish in us the vice of pride.

For, if God has pleased to entrust me with a talent, not for my own sake, but for the service of others, and at the same time hath left me full of wants and necessities, which others must supply, I can then have no cause to set any extraordinary value upon myself, or to despise my brother, because he hath not the same talents which were lent to me. His being may probably be as useful to the public as mine; and, therefore, by the rules of right reason, I am in no sort preferable to him.

Secondly, It is very manifest, from what has been said, that no man ought to look upon the advantages of

life, such as riches, honour, power, and the like, as his property, but merely as a trust, which God hath deposited with him to be employed for the use of his brethren ; and God will certainly punish the breach of that trust, though the laws of man will not, or rather, indeed, cannot, because the trust was conferred only by God, who has not left it to any power on earth to decide infallibly whether a man makes a good use of his talents or no, or to punish him where he fails. And therefore God seems to have more particularly taken this matter into his own hands, and will most certainly reward, or punish us, in proportion to our good or ill performance in it. Now, although the advantages which one possesseth more than another, may, in some sense, be called his property with respect to other men, yet, with respect to God, they are, as I said, only a trust, which will plainly appear from hence ; if a man does not use those advantages to the good of the public, or the benefit of his neighbour, it is certain he doth not deserve them, and, consequently, that God never intended them for a blessing to him ; and, on the other side, whoever does employ his talents as he ought, will find, by his own experience, that they were chiefly lent him for the service of others ; for to the service of others he will certainly employ them.

Thirdly ; If we could all be brought to practise this duty of subjecting ourselves to each other, it would very much contribute to the general happiness of mankind : for this would root out envy and malice from the heart of man ; because you cannot envy your neighbour's strength, if he make use of it to defend your life, or carry your burden ; you cannot envy his wisdom, if he give you good counsel ; nor his riches, if he supply

you in your wants ; nor his greatness, if he employ it to your protection. The miseries of life are not properly owing to the unequal distribution of things ; but God Almighty, the great King of Heaven, is treated like the kings of the earth, who, although perhaps intending well themselves, have often most abominable ministers and stewards ; and those generally the vilest, to whom they entrust the most talents. But here is the difference, that the princes of this world see by other men's eyes, but God sees all things ; and, therefore, whenever he permits his blessings to be dealt among those who are unworthy, we may certainly conclude that he intends them only as a punishment to an evil world, as well as to the owners. It were well, if those would consider this, whose riches serve them only as a spur to avarice, or as an instrument to their lusts ; whose wisdom is only of this world, to put false colours upon things, to call good evil and evil good, against the conviction of their own consciences ; and, lastly, who employ their power and favour in acts of oppression or injustice, in misrepresenting persons and things, or in countenancing the wicked, to the ruin of the innocent.

Fourthly, The practice of this duty of being subject to one another, would make us rest contented in the several stations of life wherein God hath thought fit to place us ; because it would, in the best and easiest manner, bring us back, as it were, to that early state of the gospel, when Christians had all things in common. For, if the poor found the rich disposed to supply their wants ; if the ignorant found the wise ready to instruct and direct them ; or if the weak might always find protection from the mighty ; they could none

of them, with the least pretence of justice, lament their own condition.

From all that hath been hitherto said, it appears, that great abilities of any sort, when they are employed as God directs, do but make the owners of them greater and more painful servants to their neighbour and the public: however, we are by no means to conclude from hence, that they are not really blessings, when they are in the hands of good men. For, first, what can be a greater honour than to be chosen one of the stewards and dispensers of God's bounty to mankind? What is there that can give a generous spirit more pleasure and complacency of mind, than to consider that he is an instrument of doing much good? that great numbers owe to him, under God, their subsistence, their safety, their health; and the good conduct of their lives? The wickedest man upon earth takes a pleasure in doing good to those he loves; and therefore, surely, a good Christian, who obeys our Saviour's command of loving all men, cannot but take delight in doing good even to his enemies. God, who gives all things to all men, can receive nothing from any; and those among men, who do the most good, and receive the fewest returns, do most resemble their Creator: for which reason St Paul delivers it as a saying of our Saviour, that "it is more blessed to give than to receive." By this rule, what must become of those things which the world values as the greatest blessings—riches, power, and the like—when our Saviour plainly determines, that the best way to make them blessings is to part with them? Therefore, although the advantages, which one man hath over another, may be called blessings, yet they are by no means

so in the sense the world usually understands. Thus, for example, great riches are no blessing in themselves; because the poor man, with the common necessaries of life, enjoys more health, and has fewer cares, without them. How, then, do they become blessings? No otherwise than by being employed in feeding the hungry, clothing the naked, rewarding worthy men, and, in short, doing acts of charity and generosity. Thus, likewise, power is no blessing in itself, because private men bear less envy, and trouble, and anguish, without it. But when it is employed to protect the innocent, to relieve the oppressed, and to punish the oppressor, then it becomes a great blessing.

And so, lastly, even great wisdom is, in the opinion of Solomon, not a blessing in itself; for "in much wisdom is much sorrow;" and men of common understanding, if they serve God and mind their callings, make fewer mistakes in the conduct of life than those who have better heads. And yet wisdom is a mighty blessing, when it is applied to good purposes, to instruct the ignorant, to be a faithful counsellor either in public or private, to be a director to youth, and to many other ends needless here to mention.

To conclude: God sent us into the world to obey his commands, by doing as much good as our abilities will reach, and as little evil as our many infirmities will permit. Some he hath only trusted with one talent, some with five, and some with ten. No man is without his talent; and he that is faithful or negligent in a little, shall be rewarded or punished, as well as he that hath been so in a great deal.

Consider what hath been said, &c.

SERMON IV.

ON

THE TESTIMONY OF CONSCIENCE.

FIRST PRINTED IN 1744.

 2 CORINTHIANS, i. 12.

—*For our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience.*

THERE is no word more frequently in the mouths of men than that of conscience, and the meaning of it is, in some measure, generally understood : however, because it is likewise a word extremely abused by many people, who apply other meanings to it, which God Almighty never intended ; I shall explain it to you in the clearest manner I am able. The word conscience properly signifies that knowledge which a man hath within himself of his own thoughts and actions. And because if a man judgeth fairly of his own actions, by comparing them with the law of God, his mind will either approve or condemn him, according as he has done good or evil ; therefore this knowledge, or conscience, may properly be called both an accuser and a judge. So that, whenever

our conscience accuseth us, we are certainly guilty ; but we are not always innocent, when it doth not accuse us : for very often, through the hardness of our hearts, or the fondness and favour we bear to ourselves, or through ignorance or neglect, we do not suffer our conscience to take any cognizance of several sins we commit. There is another office, likewise, belonging to conscience, which is that of being our director and guide ; and the wrong use of this hath been the occasion of more evils under the sun, than almost all other causes put together. For, as conscience is nothing else but the knowledge we have of what we are thinking and doing, so it can guide us no farther than that knowledge reacheth : and, therefore, God hath placed conscience in us to be our director only in those actions which scripture and reason plainly tell us to be good or evil. But in cases too difficult or doubtful for us to comprehend or determine, there conscience is not concerned ; because it cannot advise in what it doth not understand, nor decide where it is itself in doubt : but, by God's great mercy, those difficult points are never of absolute necessity to our salvation. There is likewise another evil, that men often say a thing is against their conscience, when really it is not. For instance : ask any of those who differ from the worship established, why they do not come to church ? they will say, they dislike the ceremonies, the prayers, the habits, and the like ; and therefore it goes against their conscience. But they are mistaken, their teacher hath put those words into their mouths ; for a man's conscience can go no higher than his knowledge ; and, therefore, till he has thoroughly examined by scripture, and the practice of the ancient church, whether those points are blameable or no, his conscience cannot pos-

sibly direct him to condemn them. Hence have likewise arisen those mistakes about what is usually called liberty of conscience; which, properly speaking, is no more than a liberty of knowing our own thoughts, which liberty no one can take from us. But those words have obtained quite different meanings: liberty of conscience is now-a-days not only understood to be the liberty of believing what men please, but also of endeavouring to propagate that belief as much as they can, and to overthrow the faith which the laws have already established, and to be rewarded by the public for those wicked endeavours: and this is the liberty of conscience which the fanatics are now openly, in the face of the world, endeavouring at with their utmost application. At the same time, it cannot but be observed, that those very persons, who, under pretence of a public spirit, and tenderness toward their Christian brethren, are so zealous for such a liberty of conscience as this, are, of all others, the least tender to those who differ from them in the smallest point relating to government; and I wish I could not say, that the Majesty of the living God may be offended with more security than the memory of a dead prince. But the wisdom of the world, at present, seems to agree with that of the heathen Emperor, who said, if the gods were offended, it was their own concern, and they were able to vindicate themselves.

But, although conscience hath been abused to those wicked purposes which I have already related, yet a due regard to the directions it plainly gives us, as well as to its accusations, reproaches, and advices, would be of the greatest use to mankind, both for their present welfare, and future happiness.

Therefore, my discourse at this time shall be directed

to prove to you, that there is no solid, firm foundation for virtue, but on a conscience which is guided by religion.

In order to this, I shall first shew you the weakness and uncertainty of two false principles, which many people set up in the place of conscience, for a guide to their actions.

The first of these principles is, what the world usually calls moral honesty. There are some people, who appear very indifferent as to religion, and yet have the repute of being just and fair in their dealings; and these are generally known by the character of good moral men. But now, if you look into the grounds and the motives of such a man's actions, you shall find them to be no other than his own ease and interest. For example: you trust a moral man with your money in the way of trade, you trust another with the defence of your cause at law, and perhaps they both deal justly with you. Why? not from any regard they have for justice, but because their fortune depends upon their credit, and a stain of open public dishonesty must be to their disadvantage. But let it consist with such a man's interest and safety to wrong you, and then it will be impossible you can have any hold upon him; because there is nothing left to give him a check, or put in the balance against his profit. For if he hath nothing to govern himself by but the opinion of the world, as long as he can conceal his injustice from the world, he thinks he is safe.

Besides, it is found by experience, that those men who set up for morality without regard to religion, are generally virtuous but in part; they will be just in their dealings between man and man; but if they find themselves disposed to pride, lust, intemperance, or avarice,

they do not think their morality concerned to check them in any of these vices ; because it is the great rule of such men, that they may lawfully follow the dictates of nature, wherever their safety, health, and fortune, are not injured. So that upon the whole there is hardly one vice, which a mere moral man may not, upon some occasions, allow himself to practise.

The other false principle, which some men set up in the place of conscience, to be their director in life, is what those who pretend to it call honour.

This word is often made the sanction of an oath ; it is reckoned a great commendation to be a man of strict honour ; and it is commonly understood that a man of honour can never be guilty of a base action. This is usually the style of military men, of persons with titles, and of others who pretend to birth and quality. It is true, indeed, that in ancient times it was universally understood, that honour was the reward of virtue ; but if such honour as is now-a-days going will not permit a man to do a base action, it must be allowed there are very few such things as base actions in nature. No man of honour, as that word is usually understood, did ever pretend that his honour obliged him to be chaste or temperate, to pay his creditors, to be useful to his country, to do good to mankind, to endeavour to be wise, or learned, to regard his word, his promise, or his oath : or, if he hath any of these virtues, they were never learned in the catechism of honour ; which contains but two precepts, the punctual payment of debts contracted at play, and the right understanding the several degrees of an affront, in order to revenge it by the death of an adversary.

But suppose this principle of honour, which some men

so much boast of, did really produce more virtues than it ever pretended to ; yet, since the very being of that honour depended upon the breath, the opinion, or the fancy, of the people, the virtues derived from it could be of no long or certain duration. For example : suppose a man, from a principle of honour, should resolve to be just, or chaste, or temperate, and yet the censuring world should take a humour of refusing him those characters, he would then think the obligation at an end. Or, on the other side, if he thought he could gain honour by the falsest and vilest action, (which is a case that very often happens,) he would then make no scruple to perform it. And God knows, it would be an unhappy state, to have the religion, the liberty, or the property of a people lodged in such hands : which, however, hath been too often the case.

What I have said upon this principle of honour may perhaps be thought of small concernment to most of you who are my hearers : however, a caution was not altogether unnecessary ; since there is nothing by which not only the vulgar, but the honest tradesman, has been so much deceived, as this infamous pretence to honour in too many of their betters.

Having thus shewn you the weakness and uncertainty of those principles, which some men set up in the place of conscience, to direct them in their actions ; I shall now endeavour to prove to you, that there is no solid, firm foundation of virtue, but in a conscience directed by the principles of religion.

There is no way of judging how far we may depend upon the actions of men, otherwise than by knowing the motives, and grounds, and causes of them ; and if the motives of our actions be not resolved and determined

into the law of God, they will be precarious and uncertain, and liable to perpetual changes. I will shew you what I mean, by an example : suppose a man thinks it his duty to obey his parents, because reason tells him so, because he is obliged by gratitude, and because the laws of his country command him, to do so ; if he stops here, his parents can have no lasting security ; for an occasion may happen, wherein it may be extremely his interest to be disobedient, and where the laws of the land can lay no hold upon him : therefore, before such a man can safely be trusted, he must proceed farther, and consider, that his reason is the gift of God ; that God commanded him to be obedient to the laws, and did, moreover, in a particular manner, enjoin him to be dutiful to his parents ; after which, if he lays due weight upon those considerations, he will probably continue in his duty to the end of his life : because no earthly interest can ever come in competition to balance the danger of offending his Creator, or the happiness of pleasing him. And of all this his conscience will certainly inform him, if he hath any regard to religion.

Secondly, Fear and hope are the two greatest natural motives of all men's actions : but neither of these passions will ever put us in the way of virtue, unless they be directed by conscience. For, although virtuous men do sometimes accidentally make their way to preferment, yet the world is so corrupted, that no man can reasonably hope to be rewarded in it, merely upon account of his virtue. And consequently the fear of punishment in this life will preserve men from very few vices, since some of the blackest and basest do often prove the surest steps to favour ; such as ingratitude, hypocrisy, treachery, malice, subornation, atheism, and many more,

which human laws do little concern themselves about. But, when conscience places before us the hopes of everlasting happiness, and the fears of everlasting misery, as the reward and punishment of our good or evil actions; our reason can find no way to avoid the force of such an argument, otherwise than by running into infidelity.

Lastly, Conscience will direct us to love God, and to put our whole trust and confidence in him. Our love of God will inspire us with a detestation for sin, as what is of all things most contrary to his divine nature: and if we have an entire confidence in him, that will enable us to subdue and despise all the allurements of the world.

It may here be objected, if conscience be so sure a director to us Christians in the conduct of our lives, how comes it to pass that the ancient heathens, who had no other lights but those of nature and reason, should so far exceed us in all manner of virtue, as plainly appears by many examples they have left on record?

To which it may be answered; first, those heathens were extremely strict and exact in the education of their children; whereas among us this care is so much laid aside, that the more God has blessed any man with estate or quality, just so much the less in proportion is the care he takes in the education of his children, and particularly of that child which is to inherit his fortune: of which the effects are visible enough among the great ones of the world. Again, those heathens did, in a particular manner, instil the principle into their children, of loving their country; which is so far otherwise now-a-days, that of the several parties among us, there is none of them that seem to have so much as heard whether there be such a virtue in the world, as plainly appears by

their practices ; and especially when they are placed in those stations where they can only have opportunity of shewing it. Lastly, the most considerable among the heathens did generally believe rewards and punishments in a life to come ; which is the great principle for conscience to work upon : whereas too many of those who would be thought the most considerable among us, do, both by their practices and their discourses, plainly affirm, that they believe nothing at all of the matter.

Wherefore, since it hath manifestly appeared that a religious conscience is the only true solid foundation upon which virtue can be built, give me leave, before I conclude, to let you see how necessary such a conscience is, to conduct us in every station and condition of our lives.

That a religious conscience is necessary in any station, is confessed even by those who tell us that all religion was invented by cunning men, in order to keep the world in awe. For, if religion, by the confession of its adversaries, be necessary toward the well-governing of mankind ; then every wise man in power will be sure, not only to choose out for every station under him, such persons as are most likely to be kept in awe by religion, but likewise to carry some appearance of it himself, or else he is a very weak politician. And accordingly, in any country where great persons affect to be open despisers of religion, their counsels will be found at last to be fully as destructive to the state as to the church.

It was the advice of Jethro to his son-in-law Moses, to “ provide able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness,” and to place such over the people ; and Moses, who was as wise a statesman at least as any in this age, thought fit to follow that advice. Great abilities, without the fear of God, are most dangerous in-

struments, when they are trusted with power. The laws of man have thought fit, that those who are called to any office of trust, should be bound by an oath to the faithful discharge of it ; but an oath is an appeal to God, and therefore can have no influence, except upon those who believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of those that seek him, and a punisher of those who disobey him : and therefore, we see, the laws themselves are forced to have recourse to conscience in these cases, because their penalties cannot reach the arts of cunning men, who can find ways to be guilty of a thousand injustices without being discovered, or at least without being punished. And the reason why we find so many frauds, abuses, and corruptions, where any trust is conferred, can be no other, than that there is so little conscience and religion left in the world ; or at least that men, in their choice of instruments, have private ends in view, which are very different from the service of the public. Besides, it is certain, that men who profess to have no religion, are full as zealous to bring over proselytes, as any Papist or fanatic can be. And therefore, if those who are in station high enough to be of influence or example to others ; if those (I say) openly profess a contempt or disbelief of religion, they will be sure to make all their dependents of their own principles ; and what security can the public expect from such persons, whenever their interests, or their lusts, come into competition with their duty ? It is very possible for a man, who hath the appearance of religion, and is a great pretender to conscience, to be wicked and a hypocrite ; but it is impossible for a man, who openly declares against religion, to give any reasonable security that he will not be false, and cruel, and corrupt, whenever a temptation offers which he values more

than he does the power wherewith he was trusted. And if such a man doth not betray his cause and his master, it is only because the temptation was not properly offered, or the profit was too small, or the danger was too great. And hence it is, that we find so little truth or justice among us : because there are so very few, who, either in the service of the public, or in common dealings with each other, do ever look farther than their own advantage, and how to guard themselves against the laws of the country ; which a man may do by favour, by secrecy, or by cunning, though he breaks almost every law of God. Therefore, to conclude : It plainly appears, that unless men are guided by the advice and judgment of conscience founded on religion, they can give no security that they will be either good subjects, faithful servants of the public, or honest in their mutual dealings ; since there is no other tie, through which the pride, or lust, or avarice, or ambition of mankind, will not certainly break one time or other.

Consider what has been said, &c.

SERMON V.

ON

BROTHERLY LOVE.

HEB. xiii. 1.

*Let brotherly love continue.**

IN the early times of the gospel, the Christians were very much distinguished from all other bodies of men, by the great and constant love they bore to each other; which, although it was done in obedience to the frequent injunctions of our Saviour and his apostles, yet, I confess, there seemeth to have been likewise a natural reason, that very much promoted it. For the Christians then were few and scattered, living under persecution by

* Notwithstanding the text and title of this sermon, and the many excellent observations which it contains in illustration of both, there are several passages in it which the dissenters of the time would hardly consider as propitiatory towards the continuance of brotherly love. There are also various allusions to the parties which raged at the time, and some which appear to have been written in defence of the preacher's character, then severely arraigned by the Irish Whigs, and held in abhorrence by the people of Dublin, by whom he was afterwards idolized.

the heathens round about them, in whose hands was all the civil and military power ; and there is nothing so apt to unite the minds and hearts of men, or to beget love and tenderness, as a general distress. The first dissensions between Christians took their beginning from the errors and heresies that arose among them ; many of those heresies, sometimes extinguished, and sometimes reviving, or succeeded by others, remain to this day ; and having been made instruments to the pride, avarice, or ambition, of ill-designing men, by extinguishing brotherly love, have been the cause of infinite calamities, as well as corruptions of faith and manners, in the Christian world.

The last legacy of Christ was peace and mutual love ; but then he foretold, that he came to send a sword upon the earth : The primitive Christians accepted the legacy, and their successors down to the present age have been largely fulfilling his prophecy. But whatever the practice of mankind hath been, or still continues, there is no duty more incumbent upon those who profess the gospel, than that of brotherly love ; which, whoever could restore in any degree among men, would be an instrument of more good to human society, than ever was or will be done by all the statesmen and politicians in the world.

It is upon this subject of brotherly love, that I intend to discourse at present ; and the method I observe shall be as follows :—

First, I will inquire into the causes of this great want of brotherly love among us.

Secondly, I will lay open the sad effects and consequences, which our animosities and mutual hatred have produced.

Lastly, I will use some motives and exhortations, that may persuade you to embrace brotherly love, and continue in it.

First, I shall inquire into the causes of this great want of brotherly love among us.

This nation of ours hath, for a hundred years past, been infested by two enemies, the Papists and fanatics; who, each in their turns, filled it with blood and slaughter, and, for a time, destroyed both the church and government. The memory of these events hath put all true Protestants equally upon their guard against both these adversaries, who, by consequence, do equally hate us. The fanatics revile us, as too nearly approaching to Popery; and the Papists condemn us, as bordering too much on fanaticism. The Papists, God be praised, are, by the wisdom of our laws, put out of all visible possibility of hurting us; besides their religion is so generally abhorred, that they have no advocates or abettors among Protestants to assist them. But the fanatics are to be considered in another light; they have had of late years the power, the luck, or the cunning, to divide us among ourselves; they have endeavoured to represent all those who have been so bold as to oppose their errors and designs, under the character of persons disaffected to the government; and they have so far succeeded, that, now-a-days, if a clergyman happens to preach with any zeal and vehemence against the sin and danger of schism, there will not want too many, in his congregation, ready enough to censure him as hot and high-flying, an inflamer of men's minds, an enemy to moderation, and disloyal to his prince. This hath produced a formed and settled division between those who profess the same doc-

trine and discipline ; while they who call themselves moderate, are forced to widen their bottom, by sacrificing their principles and their brethren to the encroachments and insolence of dissenters ; who are therefore answerable, as a principal cause of all that hatred and animosity now reigning among us.

Another cause of the great want of brotherly love is, the weakness and folly of too many among you of the lower sort, who are made the tools and instruments of your betters to work their designs, wherein you have no concern. Your numbers make you of use, and cunning men take the advantage, by putting words into your mouths which you do not understand ; then they fix good or ill characters to those words, as it best serves their purposes : and thus you are taught to love or hate, you know not what or why ; you often suspect your best friends, and nearest neighbours, even your teacher himself, without any reason, if your leaders once taught you to call him by a name which they tell you signifieth some very bad thing.

A third cause of our great want of brotherly love seemeth to be, that this duty is not so often insisted on from the pulpit, as it ought to be in such times as these ; on the contrary, it is to be doubted, whether doctrines are not sometimes delivered by an ungoverned zeal, a desire to be distinguished, or a view of interest, which produce quite different effects ; when upon occasions set apart to return thanks to God for some public blessing, the time is employed in stirring up one part of the congregation against the other, by representations of things and persons, which God, in his mercy, forgive those who are guilty of !

The last cause I shall mention of the want of brother-

ly love is, that unhappy disposition towards politics among the trading people, which hath been industriously instilled into them. In former times, the middle and lower sorts of mankind seldom gained or lost by the factions of the kingdom, and therefore were little concerned in them, farther than as matter of talk and amusement: but now the meanest dealer will expect to turn the penny, by the merits of his party. He can represent his neighbour as a man of dangerous principles, can bring a railing accusation against him, perhaps a criminal one; and so rob him of his livelihood, and find his own account by that, much more than if he had disparaged his neighbour's goods, or defamed him as a cheat. For so it happens, that instead of inquiring into the skill or honesty of those kind of people, the manner is now to inquire into their party, and to reject or encourage them accordingly; which proceeding hath made our people, in general, such able politicians, that all the artifice, flattery, dissimulation, diligence, and dexterity, in undermining each other, which the satirical wit of men hath charged upon courts; together with all the rage and violence, cruelty and injustice, which have been ever imputed to public assemblies; are with us, (so polite are we grown,) to be seen among our meanest traders and artificers in the greatest perfection. All which, as it may be matter of some humiliation to the wise and mighty of this world, so the effects thereof may, perhaps, in time, prove very different from what, I hope, in charity, were ever foreseen or intended.

I will therefore now, in the second place, lay open some of the sad effects and consequences which our animosities and mutual hatred have produced.

And the first ill consequence is, that our want of brotherly love hath almost driven out all sense of religion from among us, which cannot well be otherwise; for, since our Saviour laid so much weight upon his disciples loving one another, that he gave it among his last instructions; and since the primitive Christians are allowed to have chiefly propagated the faith by their strict observance of that instruction; it must follow, that in proportion as brotherly love declineth, Christianity will do so too. The little religion there is in the world hath been observed to reside chiefly among the middle and lower sorts of people, who are neither tempted to pride nor luxury by great riches, nor to desperate courses by extreme poverty; and truly I, upon that account, have thought it a happiness that those who are under my immediate care are generally of that condition: but where party hath once made entrance, with all its consequences of hatred, envy, partiality, and virulence, religion cannot long keep its hold in any state or degree of life whatsoever. For, if the great men of the world have been censured in all ages for mingling too little religion with their politics, what a havoc of principles must they needs make in unlearned and irregular heads; of which, indeed, the effects are already too visible and melancholy all over the kingdom!

Another ill consequence from our want of brotherly love is, that it increaseth the insolence of the fanatics; and this partly ariseth from a mistaken meaning of the word moderation; a word which hath been much abused, and bandied about for several years past. There are too many people indifferent enough to all religion; there are many others, who dislike the clergy, and would have them live in poverty and dependence: both these sorts

are much commended by the fanatics for moderate men, ready to put an end to our divisions, and to make a general union among Protestants. Many ignorant well-meaning people are deceived by these appearances, strengthened with great pretences to loyalty; and these occasions the fanatics lay hold on to revile the doctrine and discipline of the church, and even insult and oppress the clergy wherever their numbers or favourers will bear them out; insomuch, that one wilful refractory fanatic hath been able to disturb a whole parish for many years together. But the most moderate and favoured divines dare not own that the word moderation, with respect to the dissenters, can be at all applied to their religion, but is purely personal or prudential. No good man repineth at the liberty of conscience they enjoy; and perhaps a very moderate divine may think better of their loyalty than others do; or, to speak after the manner of men, may think it necessary that all Protestants should be united against the common enemy; or out of discretion, or other reasons best known to himself, be tender of mentioning them at all. But still the errors of the dissenters are all fixed and determined, and must, upon demand, be acknowledged by all the divines of our church, whether they be called, in party phrase, high or low, moderate or violent. And further, I believe it would be hard to find many moderate divines, who, if their opinion were asked whether dissenters should be trusted with power, could, according to their consciences, answer in the affirmative; from whence it is plain, that all the stir which the fanatics have made with this word moderation, was only meant to increase our divisions, and widen them so far as to make room for themselves to get in between. And this is the only scheme they

ever had, (except that of destroying root and branch,) for the uniting of Protestants, they so much talk of.

I shall mention but one ill consequence more, which attends our want of brotherly love; that it hath put an end to all hospitality and friendship, all good correspondence and commerce between mankind. There are indeed such things as leagues and confederacies among those of the same party; but surely God never intended that men should be so limited in the choice of their friends: however, so it is in town and country, in every parish and street; the pastor is divided from his flock, the father from his son, and the house often divided against itself. Men's very natures are soured, and their passions inflamed, when they meet in party clubs, and spend their time in nothing else but railing at the opposite side: thus every man alive among us is encompassed with a million of enemies of his own country, among which his oldest acquaintance and friends, and kindred themselves, are often of the number; neither can people of different parties mix together without constraint, suspicion, or jealousy, watching every word they speak, for fear of giving offence; or else falling into rudeness and reproaches, and so leaving themselves open to the malice and corruption of informers, who were never more numerous or expert in their trade. And as a farther addition to this evil, those very few, who, by the goodness and generosity of their nature, do in their own hearts despise this narrow principle of confining their friendship and esteem, their charity and good offices, to those of their own party, yet dare not discover their good inclinations, for fear of losing their favour and interest. And others again, whom God had formed with mild and gentle dispositions, think it necessary to put a force

upon their own tempers, by acting a noisy, violent, malicious part, as a means to be distinguished. Thus hath party got the better of the very genius and constitution of our people ; so that, whoever reads the character of the English in former ages, will hardly believe their present posterity to be of the same nation or climate.

I shall now, in the last place, make use of some motives and exhortations, that may persuade you to embrace brotherly love, and continue in it. Let me apply myself to you of the lower sort, and desire you will consider, when any of you make use of fair and enticing words to draw in customers, whether you do it for their sakes or your own. And then, for whose sakes do you think it is, that your leaders are so industrious to put into your heads all that party rage and virulence ? is it not to make you the tools and instruments, by which they work out their own designs ? Has this spirit of faction been useful to any of you in your worldly concerns, except to those who have traded in whispering, backbiting, or informing, wanting skill or honesty to thrive by fairer methods ? It is no business of yours to inquire, who is at the head of armies, or of councils, unless you had power and skill to choose, neither of which is ever likely to be your case ; and therefore to fill your heads with fears, and hatred of persons and things, of which it is impossible you can ever make a right judgment, or to set you at variance with your neighbour, because his thoughts are not the same as yours, is not only in a very gross manner to cheat you of your time and quiet, but likewise to endanger your souls.

Secondly : In order to restore brotherly love, let me earnestly exhort you to stand firm in your religion ; I

mean, the true religion hitherto established among us, without varying in the least either to Popery on the one side, or to fanaticism on the other; and in a particular manner beware of that word, moderation; and believe it, that your neighbour is not immediately a villain, a Papist, and a traitor, because the fanatics and their adherents will not allow him to be a moderate man. Nay, it is very probable, that your teacher himself may be a loyal, pious, and able divine, without the least grain of moderation, as the word is too frequently understood. Therefore, to set you right in this matter, I will lay before you the character of a truly moderate man; and then I will give you the description of such a one as falsely pretendeth to that title.

A man truly moderate is steady in the doctrine and discipline of the church, but with a due Christian charity to all who dissent from it out of a principle of conscience; the freedom of which, he thinketh, ought to be fully allowed, as long as it is not abused, but never trusted with power. He is ready to defend with his life and fortune the Protestant succession, and the Protestant established faith, against all invaders whatsoever. He is for giving the Crown its just prerogative, and the people their just liberties. He hateth no man for differing from him in political opinions; nor doth he think it a maxim infallible, that virtue should always attend upon favour, and vice upon disgrace. These are some few lineaments in the character of a truly moderate man; let us now compare it with the description of one who usually passeth under that title.

A moderate man, in the new meaning of the word, is one to whom all religion is indifferent; who although he denominates himself of the church, regardeth it no

more than a conventicle. He perpetually railleth at the body of the clergy, with exceptions only to a very few, who, he hopeth, and probably upon false grounds, are as ready to betray their rights and properties as himself. He thinketh the power of the people can never be too great, nor that of the prince too little; and yet this very notion he publisheth, as his best argument, to prove him a most loyal subject. Every opinion in government, that differeth in the least from his, tendeth directly to Popery, slavery, and rebellion. Whoever lieth under the frown of power, can, in his judgment, neither have common sense, common honesty, nor religion. Lastly, his devotion consisteth in drinking gibbets, confusion, and damnation;* in profanely idolizing the memory of one dead prince,† and ungratefully trampling upon the ashes of another.‡

By these marks you will easily distinguish a truly moderate man from those who are commonly, but very falsely, so called; and while persons thus qualified are so numerous and so noisy, so full of zeal and industry to gain proselytes, and spread their opinions among the people, it cannot be wondered at that there should be so little brotherly love left among us.

Lastly: It would probably contribute to restore some degree of brotherly love, if we would but consider, that the matter of those disputes, which inflame us to this degree, doth not, in its own nature, at all concern the

* The subject of these political toasts was the theme of much discussion in Ireland.

† King William.

‡ Queen Anne.

generality of mankind. Indeed, as to those who have been great gainers or losers by the changes of the world, the case is different : and to preach moderation to the first, and patience to the last, would perhaps be to little purpose : but what is that to the bulk of the people, who are not properly concerned in the quarrel, although evil instruments have drawn them into it ? for, if the reasonable men on both sides were to confer opinions, they would find neither religion, loyalty, nor interest, are at all affected in this dispute. Not religion, because the members of the church, on both sides, profess to agree in every article : not loyalty to our prince, which is pretended to by one party as much as the other, and therefore can be no subject for debate : nor interest, for trade and industry lie open to all ; and, what is farther, concerns only those who have expectations from the public ; so that the body of the people, if they knew their own good, might yet live amicably together, and leave their betters to quarrel among themselves ; who might also probably soon come to a better temper, if they were less seconded and supported by the poor deluded multitude.

I have now done with my text, which I confess to have treated in a manner more suited to the present times, than to the nature of the subject in general. That I have not been more particular in explaining the several parts and properties of this great duty of brotherly love, the apostle to the Thessalonians will plead my excuse.—“ Touching brotherly love,” saith he, “ ye need not that I write unto you, for ye yourselves are taught of God to love one another.” So that nothing

remains to add, but our prayers to God, that he would please to restore and continue this duty of brotherly love or charity among us, the very bond of peace and of all virtues.

Nov. 29, 1717.

SERMON VI.

ON

THE MARTYRDOM OF KING CHARLES I.

PREACHED AT ST PATRICK'S, DUBLIN, JAN. 30, 1725-26,
BEING SUNDAY.

GENESIS, xlix. 5, 6, 7.

Simeon and Levi are brethren ; instruments of cruelty are in their habitations.

O my soul, come not thou into their secret ; unto their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united : for in their anger they slew a man, and in their self-will they digged down a wall.

Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce ; and their wrath, for it was cruel. I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel.

I KNOW very well, that the church hath been often censured for keeping holy this day of humiliation, in memory of that excellent king and blessed martyr, Charles I., who rather chose to die on a scaffold, than betray the religion and liberties of his people, where-with God and the laws had entrusted him. But, at the

same time, it is manifest that those who make such censures, are either people without any religion at all, or who derive their principles, and perhaps their birth, from the abettors of those who contrived the murder of that prince, and have not yet shewn the world that their opinions are changed. It is alleged, that the observation of this day hath served to continue and increase the animosity and enmity among our countrymen, and to disunite Protestants; that a law was made, upon the restoration of the Martyr's son, for a general pardon and oblivion, forbidding all reproaches upon that occasion; and since none are now alive who were actors or instruments in that tragedy, it is thought hard and uncharitable to keep up the memory of it for all generations.

Now, because I conceive most of you to be ignorant in many particulars concerning that horrid murder, and the rebellion which preceded it; I will,

First, relate to you so much of the story as may be sufficient for your information:

Secondly, I will tell you the consequences which this bloody deed had upon these kingdoms:

And, *Lastly*, I will shew you to what good uses this solemn day of humiliation may be applied.

As to the first: In the reign of this prince, Charles the Martyr, the power and prerogative of the king were much greater than they are in our times, and so had been for at least seven hundred years before; and the best princes we ever had, carried their power much farther than the blessed Martyr offered to do, in the most blameable part of his reign. But, the lands of the Crown having been prodigally bestowed to favourites in the

preceding reigns, the succeeding kings could not support themselves without taxes raised by Parliament; which put them under a necessity of frequently calling those assemblies; and the crown lands being gotten into the hands of the nobility and gentry, beside the possessions of which the church had been robbed by King Henry the Eighth, power, which always follows property, grew to lean to the side of the people, by whom even the just rights of the Crown were often disputed.

But farther: Upon the cruel persecution raised against the Protestants, under Queen Mary, among great numbers who fled the kingdom to seek for shelter, several went and resided at Geneva, which is a commonwealth, governed without a king, and where the religion, contrived by Calvin, is without the order of bishops. When the Protestant faith was restored by Queen Elizabeth, those who fled to Geneva returned among the rest home to England, and were grown so fond of the government and religion of the place they had left, that they used all possible endeavours to introduce both into their own country; at the same time continually preaching and railing against ceremonies and distinct habits of the clergy; taxing whatever they disliked as a remnant of Popery; and continued extremely troublesome to the church and state, under that great Queen, as well as her successor King James I. These people called themselves Puritans, as pretending to a purer faith than those of the church established. And these were the founders of our Dissenters. They did not think it sufficient to leave all the errors of Popery; but threw off many laudable and edifying institutions of the primitive church, and, at last, even the government of bishops; which, having been ordained by the apostles themselves,

had continued without interruption, in all Christian churches, for above fifteen hundred years. And all this they did, not because those things were evil, but because they were kept by the Papists. From thence they proceeded, by degrees, to quarrel with the kingly government; because, as I have already said, the city of Geneva, to which their fathers had flown for refuge, was a commonwealth, or government of the people.

These Puritans, about the middle of the Martyr's reign, were grown to a considerable faction in the kingdom, and in the Lower House of Parliament. They filled the public with the most false and bitter libels against the bishops and the clergy, accusing chiefly the very best among them of Popery; and at the same time, the House of Commons grew so insolent and uneasy to the King, that they refused to furnish him with necessary supplies for the support of his family, unless upon such conditions as he could not submit to without forfeiting his conscience and honour, and even his coronation oath. And in such an extremity, he was forced upon a practice, no way justifiable, of raising money; for which, however, he had the opinion of the judges on his side; for wicked judges there were in those times as well as in ours. There were likewise many complaints, and sometimes justly, made against the proceedings of a certain court, called the Star-chamber, a judicature of great antiquity: but it had suffered some corruptions, for which, however, the King was nowise answerable. I cannot recollect any more subjects of complaint with the least ground of reason; nor is it needful to recollect them, because this gracious King did, upon the first application, redress all grievances by an act of Parliament, and put it out of his

power to do any hardships for the future. But that wicked faction in the House of Commons, not content with all those marks of his justice and condescension, urged still for more ; and joining with a factious party from Scotland, who had the same fancies in religion, forced him to pass an act for cutting off the head of his best and chief minister ; and at the same time compelled him, by tumults and threatenings of a packed rabble, poisoned with the same doctrines, to pass another law, by which it should not be in his power to dissolve that Parliament without their own consent.— Thus, by the greatest weakness and infatuation that ever possessed any man's spirit, this Prince did in effect sign his own destruction. For the House of Commons, having the reins in their own hands, drove on furiously ; sent him every day some unreasonable demand ; and when he refused to grant it, made use of their own power, and declared that an ordinance of both Houses, without the King's consent, should be obeyed as a law, contrary to all reason and equity, as well as to the fundamental constitution of the kingdom.

About this time the rebellion in Ireland broke out, wherein his Parliament refused to assist him ; nor would accept his offer to come hither in person to subdue those rebels. These, and a thousand other barbarities, forced the King to summon his loyal subjects to his standard in his own defence. Meanwhile, the English Parliament, instead of helping the poor Protestants here, seized on the very army that his Majesty was sending over for our relief, and turned them against their own Sovereign. The rebellion in England continued for four or five years : at last the King was forced to fly in disguise to the Scots, who sold him to the rebels. And

these Puritans had the impudent cruelty to try his sacred person in a mock court of justice, and cut off his head ; which he might have saved, if he would have yielded to betray the constitution in church and state.

In this whole proceeding, Simeon and Levi were brethren ; the wicked insinuations of those fanatical preachers stirring up the cruelty of the soldiers, who, by force of arms, excluded from the house every member of Parliament whom they apprehended to bear the least inclination toward an agreement with the King, suffering only those to enter who thirsted chiefly for his blood ; and this is the very account given by their own writers. Whence it is clear, that this Prince was, in all respects, a real martyr for the true religion and the liberty of the people. That odious Parliament had first turned the bishops out of the House of Lords ; in a few years after, they murdered their King ; then immediately abolished the whole House of Lords ; and so, at last, obtained their wishes, of having a government of the people, and a new religion, both after the manner of Geneva, without a king, a bishop, or a nobleman ; and this they blasphemously called “ The kingdom of Christ and his saints.”

This is enough for your information on the first head : I shall therefore proceed to the second, wherein I will shew you the miserable consequences which that abominable rebellion and murder produced in these nations.

First, The Irish rebellion was wholly owing to that wicked English Parliament. For the leaders in the Irish Popish massacre, would never have dared to stir a finger, if they had not been encouraged by that rebel-

lious spirit in the English House of Commons, which they very well knew must disable the King from sending any supplies to his Protestant subjects here ; and, therefore, we may truly say, that the English Parliament held the King's hands, while the Irish Papists here were cutting our grandfathers' throats.

Secondly, That murderous Puritan Parliament, when they had all in their own power, could not agree upon any one method of settling a form either of religion or civil government ; but changed every day from schism to schism, from heresy to heresy, and from one faction to another : whence arose that wild confusion, still continuing in our several ways of serving God, and those absurd notions of civil power, which have so often torn us with factions more than any other nation in Europe.

Thirdly, To this rebellion and murder, have been owing the rise and progress of atheism among us. For men, observing what numberless villainies of all kinds were committed during twenty years, under pretence of zeal and the reformation of God's church, were easily tempted to doubt that all religion was a mere imposture : and the same spirit of infidelity, so far spread among us at this present, is nothing but the fruit of the seeds sown by those rebellious hypocritical saints.

Fourthly, The old virtue, and loyalty, and generous spirit, of the English nation, were wholly corrupted, by the power, the doctrine, and the example, of those wicked people. Many of the ancient nobility were killed, and their families extinct, in defence of their Prince and country, or murdered by the merciless courts of justice. Some of the worst among them favoured or complied with the reigning iniquities ; and not a few of

the new set, created when the Martyr's son was restored, were such who had drunk too deep of the bad principles then prevailing.

Fifthly, The children of the murdered Prince were forced to fly, for the safety of their lives, to foreign countries; where one of them at least, I mean King James II., was seduced to Popery; which ended in the loss of his kingdoms, the misery and desolation of this country, and a long and expensive war abroad. Our deliverance was owing to the valour and conduct of the late King; and, therefore, we ought to remember him with gratitude, but not mingled with blasphemy or idolatry. It was happy that his interests and ours were the same: and God gave him greater success than our sins deserved. But, as a house thrown down by a storm, is seldom rebuilt without some change in the foundation; so it hath happened, that, since the late Revolution, men have sat much looser in the true fundamentals both of religion and government, and factions have been more violent, treacherous, and malicious, than ever; men running naturally from one extreme into another; and, for private ends, taking up those very opinions, professed by the leaders in that rebellion, which carried the blessed Martyr to the scaffold.

Sixthly, Another consequence of this horrid rebellion and murder was, the destroying or defacing of such vast number of God's houses. "In their self-will they digged down a wall." If a stranger should now travel in England, and observe the churches in his way, he could not otherwise conclude, than that some vast army of Turks or heathens had been sent on purpose to ruin and blot out all marks of Christianity. They spared neither the statues of saints, nor ancient prelates, nor

kings, nor benefactors; broke down the tombs and monuments of men famous in their generations; seized the vessels of silver set apart for the holiest use; tore down the most innocent ornaments both within and without; made the houses of prayer dens of thieves, or stables for cattle. These were the mildest effects of Puritan zeal and devotion for Christ; and this was what themselves affected to call a thorough reformation. In this kingdom, those ravages were not so easily seen; for, the people here being too poor to raise such noble temples, the mean ones we had were not defaced, but totally destroyed.

Upon the whole, it is certain, that although God might have found out many other ways to have punished a sinful people, without permitting this rebellion and murder; yet, as the course of the world hath run ever since, we need seek for no other causes of all the public evils we have hitherto suffered, or may suffer for the future, by the misconduct of princes, or wickedness of the people.

I go on now, upon the third head, to shew you to what good uses this solemn day of humiliation may be applied.

First, It may be an instruction to princes themselves, to be careful in the choice of those who are their advisers in matters of law. All the judges of England, except one or two, advised the King, that he might legally raise money upon the subjects, for building of ships, without consent of Parliament; which, as it was the greatest oversight of his reign, so it proved the principal foundation of all his misfortunes. Princes may likewise learn from hence, not to sacrifice a faithful servant to

the rage of a faction ; nor to trust any body of men with a greater share of power than the laws of the land have appointed them, much less to deposit it in their hands until they shall please to restore it.

Secondly, By bringing to mind the tragedy of this day, and the consequences that have arisen from it, we shall be convinced how necessary it is for those in power to curb in season all such unruly spirits as desire to introduce new doctrines and discipline in the church, or new forms of government in the state. Those wicked Puritans began, in Queen Elizabeth's time, to quarrel only with surplices and other habits, with the ring in matrimony, the cross in baptism, and the like ; thence they went on to farther matters of higher importance ; and at last they must needs have the whole government of the church dissolved. This great work they compassed, first, by depriving the bishops of their seats in Parliament ; then they abolished the whole order ; and, at last, which was their original design, they seized on all the church-lands, and divided the spoil among themselves ; and, like Jeroboam, made priests of the very dregs of the people. This was their way of reforming the church. As to the civil government, you have already heard how they modelled it, upon the murder of their King, and discarding the nobility. Yet, clearly to shew what a Babel they had built, after twelve years' trial, and twenty several sorts of government, the nation, grown weary of their tyranny, was forced to call in the son of him whom those reformers had sacrificed. And thus were Simeon and Levi divided in Jacob, and scattered in Israel.

Thirdly, Although the successors of these Puritans, I mean our present Dissenters, do not think fit to ob-

serve this day of humiliation ; yet it would be very proper in them, upon some occasions, to renounce, in a public manner, those principles upon which their predecessors acted ; and it will be more prudent in them to do so, because those very Puritans, of whom ours are followers, found, by experience, that after they had overturned the church and state, murdered their King, and were projecting what they called a kingdom of the saints, they were cheated of the power and possessions they only panted after, by an upstart sect of religion that grew out of their own bowels, who subjected them to one tyrant, while they were endeavouring to set up a thousand.

Fourthly, Those who profess to be followers of our church established, and yet presume in discourse to justify or excuse that rebellion and murder of the King, ought to consider how utterly contrary all such opinions are to the doctrine of Christ and his apostles, as well as to the articles of our church, and to the preaching and practice of its true professors for above a hundred years. Of late times, indeed, and I speak it with grief of heart, we have heard even sermons of a strange nature ; although reason would make one think it a very unaccountable way of procuring favour under a monarchy, by palliating and lessening the guilt of those who murdered the best of kings in cold blood, and, for a time, destroyed the very monarchy itself. Pray God, we may never more hear such doctrine from the pulpit, nor have it scattered about in print, to poison the people !

Fifthly, Some general knowledge of this horrid rebellion and murder, with the consequences they had upon these nations, may be a warning to our people not to believe a lie, and to mistrust those deluding spirits, who,

under pretence of a purer and more reformed religion, would lead them from their duty to God and the laws. Politicians may say what they please ; but it is no hard thing at all for the meanest person, who hath common understanding, to know whether he be well or ill governed. If he be freely allowed to follow his trade and calling ; if he be secure in his property, and hath the benefit of the law to defend himself against injustice and oppression ; if his religion be different from that of his country, and the government think fit to tolerate it, (which he may be very secure of, let it be what it will ;) he ought to be fully satisfied, and give no offence by writing or discourse to the worship established, as the dissenting preachers are too apt to do. But, if he hath any new visions of his own, it is his duty to be quiet, and possess them in silence, without disturbing the community by a furious zeal for making proselytes. This was the folly and madness of those ancient puritan fanatics : they must needs overturn heaven and earth, violate all the laws of God and man, make their country a field of blood, to propagate whatever wild or wicked opinions came into their heads, declaring all their absurdities and blasphemies to proceed from the Holy Ghost.

To conclude this head. In answer to that objection of keeping up animosity and hatred between Protestants by the observation of this day ; if there be any sect or sort of people among us, who profess the same principles in religion and government which those puritan rebels put in practice, I think it is the interest of all those who love the church and king, to keep up as strong a party against them as possible, until they shall, in a body, renounce all those wicked opinions upon which

their predecessors acted, to the disgrace of Christianity, and the perpetual infamy of the English nation.

When we accuse the Papists of the horrid doctrine, "that no faith ought to be kept with heretics," they deny it to a man; and yet we justly think it dangerous to trust them, because we know their actions have been sometimes suitable to that opinion. But the followers of those who beheaded the Martyr have not yet renounced their principles; and till they do, they may be justly suspected. Neither will the bare name of Protestants set them right; for surely Christ requires more from us than a profession of hating Popery, which a Turk or an atheist may do as well as a Protestant.

If an enslaved people should recover their liberty from a tyrannical power of any sort, who could blame them for commemorating their deliverance by a day of joy and thanksgiving? And doth not the destruction of a church, a king, and three kingdoms, by the artifices, hypocrisy, and cruelty, of a wicked race of soldiers and preachers, and other sons of Belial, equally require a solemn time of humiliation? especially since the consequences of that bloody scene still continue, as I have already shewn, in their effects upon us.

Thus I have done with the three heads I proposed to discourse on. But before I conclude, I must give a caution to those who hear me, that they may not think I am pleading for absolute unlimited power in any one man. It is true, all power is from God; and, as the apostle says, "the powers that be are ordained of God;" but this is in the same sense that all we have is from God, our food and raiment, and whatever possessions we hold by lawful means. Nothing can be meant in those,

or any other words of Scripture, to justify tyrannical power, or the savage cruelties of those heathen emperors who lived in the time of the apostles. And so St Paul concludes, "The powers that be are ordained of God : for what ? why, " for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise, the reward, of them that do well." There is no more inward value in the greatest emperor, than in the meanest of his subjects : his body is composed of the same substance, the same parts, and with the same, or greater, infirmities ; his education is generally worse, by flattery, and idleness, and luxury, and those evil dispositions that early power is apt to give. It is therefore against common sense, that his private personal interest, or pleasure, should be put in the balance with the safety of millions, every one of which is his equal by nature, equal in the sight of God, equally capable of salvation ; and it is for their sakes, not his own, that he is entrusted with the government over them. He hath as high trust as can safely be reposed in one man ; and if he discharge it as he ought, he deserves all the honour and duty that a mortal may be allowed to receive. His personal failings we have nothing to do with ; and errors in government are to be imputed to his ministers in the state. To what height those errors may be suffered to proceed, is not the business of this day, or this place, or of my function, to determine. When oppressions grow too great and universal to be borne, nature or necessity may find a remedy. But if a private person reasonably expects pardon, upon his amendment, for all faults that are not capital, it would be a hard condition indeed not to give the same allowance to a prince, who must see with other men's eyes, and hear with other men's ears,

which are often wilfully blind and deaf. Such was the condition of the Martyr ; and is so, in some degree, of all other princes. Yet this we may justly say in defence of the common people in all civilized nations, that it must be a very bad government indeed, where the body of the subjects will not rather choose to live in peace and obedience, than take up arms on pretence of faults in the administration, unless where the vulgar are deluded by false preachers to grow fond of new visions and fancies in religion ; which, managed by dexterous men, for sinister ends of malice, envy, or ambition, have often made whole nations run mad. This was exactly the case in the whole progress of that great rebellion, and the murder of King Charles I. But the late Revolution under the Prince of Orange was occasioned by a proceeding directly contrary, the oppression and injustice there beginning from the throne : for that unhappy prince, King James II., did not only invade our laws and liberties, but would have forced a false religion upon his subjects, for which he was deservedly rejected, since there could be no other remedy found, or at least agreed on. But, under the blessed Martyr, the deluded people would have forced many false religions, not only on their fellow-subjects, but even upon their sovereign himself, and at the same time invaded all his undoubted rights ; and, because he would not comply, raised a horrid rebellion, wherein, by the permission of God, they prevailed, and put their sovereign to death, like a common criminal, in the face of the world.

Therefore, those who seem to think they cannot otherwise justify the late Revolution, and the change of the succession, than by lessening the guilt of the Puritans,

do certainly put the greatest affront imaginable upon the present powers, by supposing any relation or resemblance between that rebellion and the late Revolution ; and, consequently, that the present establishment is to be defended by the same arguments which those usurpers made use of, who, to obtain their tyranny, trampled under foot all the laws of both God and man.

One great design of my discourse was, to give you warning against running into either extreme of two bad opinions with relation to obedience. As kings are called gods upon earth, so some would allow them an equal power with God over all laws and ordinances ; and that the liberty, and property, and life, and religion, of the subject, depended wholly upon the breath of the prince ; which, however, I hope was never meant by those who pleaded for passive obedience. And this opinion hath not been confined to that party which was first charged with it ; but hath sometimes gone over to the other, to serve many an evil turn of interest or ambition ; who have been as ready to enlarge prerogative, where they could find their own account, as the highest maintainers of it.

On the other side, some look upon kings as answerable for every mistake or omission in government, and bound to comply with the most unreasonable demands of an unquiet faction ; which was the case of those who persecuted the blessed Martyr of this day, from his throne to the scaffold.

Between these two extremes, it is easy, from what hath been said, to choose a middle ; to be good and loyal subjects, yet, according to your power, faithful assertors of your religion and liberties ; to avoid all broachers and

preachers of newfangled doctrines in the church ; to be strict observers of the laws, which cannot be justly taken from you without your own consent : in short, “ to obey God and the King, and meddle not with those who are given to change.”

Which that you may all do, &c.

SERMON VII.

ON

FALSE WITNESS.*

 EXODUS, XX. 16.

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

IN those great changes that are made in a country by the prevailing of one party over another, it is very convenient that the prince, and those who are in authority under him, should use all just and proper methods for preventing any mischief to the public from seditious men. And governors do well, when they encourage any good subject to discover (as his duty obligeth him) whatever plots or conspiracies may be anyway dangerous to the state: neither are they to be blamed even when they receive informations from bad men, in order to find out

* The Deau, in consequence of his political opinions, and the firmness with which he avowed them, was often exposed to danger and persecution, by informers of various descriptions. He was, therefore, well qualified to place before his congregation the danger to public order and individual liberty, as well as to religion and morality, from the pestilent tribe, the *Delatores* of the Roman Empire.

the truth, when it concerns the public welfare. Every one, indeed, is naturally inclined to have an ill opinion of an informer; although it is not impossible but an honest man may be called by that name. For whoever knoweth anything, the telling of which would prevent some great evil to his prince, his country, or his neighbour, is bound in conscience to reveal it. But the mischief is, that, when parties are violently inflamed, which seemeth unfortunately to be our case at present, there is never wanting a set of evil instruments, who, either out of mad zeal, private hatred, or filthy lucre, are always ready to offer their services to the prevailing side, and become accusers of their brethren, without any regard to truth or charity. Holy David numbers this among the chief of his sufferings; "False witnesses are risen up against me, and such as breathe out cruelty."* Our Saviour and his apostles did likewise undergo the same distress, as we read both in the Gospels and the Acts.

Now, because the sign of false witnessing is so horrible and dangerous in itself, and so odious to God and man; and because the bitterness of too many among us is risen to such a height, that it is not easy to know where it will stop, or how far some weak and wicked minds may be carried by a mistaken zeal, a malicious temper, or hope of reward, to break this great commandment delivered in the text; therefore, in order to prevent this evil, and the consequences of it, at least among you who are my hearers, I shall,

First, Shew you several ways by which a man may be called a false witness against his neighbour.

* Psalm xxvii. 12.

Secondly, I shall give you some rules for your conduct and behaviour, in order to defend yourselves against the malice and cunning of false accusers.

And *lastly*, I shall conclude with shewing you, very briefly, how far it is your duty, as good subjects and good neighbours, to bear faithful witness, when you are lawfully called to it by those in authority, or by the sincere advice of your own consciences.

As to the first, there are several ways by which a man may be justly called a false witness against his neighbour.

First, According to the direct meaning of the word, when a man accuseth his neighbour without the least ground of truth. So we read, "that Jezebel hired two sons of Belial to accuse Naboth for blaspheming God and the king, for which, although he was entirely innocent, he was stoned to death." And in our age it is not easy to tell how many men have lost their lives, been ruined in their fortunes, and put to ignominious punishment, by the downright perjury of false witnesses! the law itself in such cases being not able to protect the innocent. But this is so horrible a crime, that it doth not need to be aggravated by words.

A second way by which a man becometh a false witness is, when he mixeth falsehood and truth together, or concealeth some circumstances, which, if they were told, would destroy the falsehoods he uttereth. So the two false witnesses who accused our Saviour before the chief priests, by a very little perverting of his words, would have made him guilty of a capital crime; for so it was among the Jews to prophesy any evil against the Temple: "This fellow said, I am able to destroy the

temple of God, and to build it in three days;" whereas the words, as our Saviour spoke them, were to another end, and differently expressed; for when the Jews asked him to shew them a sign, he said, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up." In such cases as these, an innocent man is half confounded, and looketh as if he were guilty, since he neither can deny his words, nor perhaps readily strip them from the malicious additions of a false witness.

Thirdly, A man is a false witness, when, in accusing his neighbour, he endeavours to aggravate by his gestures and tone of his voice, or when he chargeth a man with words which were only repeated or quoted from somebody else. As if any one should tell me that he heard another speak certain dangerous and seditious speeches, and I should immediately accuse him for speaking them himself; and so drop the only circumstance that made him innocent. This was the case of St Stephen. The false witness said, "This man ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words against this holy place and the law." Whereas St Stephen said no such words; but only repeated some prophecies of Jeremiah or Malachi, which threatened Jerusalem with destruction if it did not repent; however, by the fury of the people, this innocent holy person was stoned to death for words he never spoke.

Fourthly, The blackest kind of false witnesses are those, who do the office of the devil, by tempting their brethren in order to betray them. I cannot call to mind any instances of this kind mentioned in Holy Scripture. But I am afraid this vile practice hath been too much followed in the world. When a man's temper hath been so soured by misfortunes and hard usage, that perhaps

he hath reason enough to complain ; then one of these seducers, under the pretence of friendship, will seem to lament his case, urge the hardships he hath suffered, and endeavour to raise his passions, until he hath said something that a malicious informer can pervert or aggravate against him in a court of justice.

Fifthly, Whoever beareth witness against his neighbour, out of a principle of malice and revenge, from any old grudge, or hatred to his person, such a man is a false witness in the sight of God, although what he says be true ; because the motive or cause is evil, not to serve his prince or country, but to gratify his own resentments. And therefore, although a man thus accused may be very justly punished by the law, yet this doth by no means acquit the accuser ; who, instead of regarding the public service, intended only to glut his private rage and spite.

Sixthly, I number among false witnesses, all those who make a trade of being informers in hope of favour or reward ; and to this end employ their time, either by listening in public places, to catch up an accidental word ; or in corrupting men's servants to discover any unwary expression of their master ; or thrusting themselves into company, and then using the most indecent scurrilous language ; fastening a thousand falsehoods and scandals upon a whole party, on purpose to provoke such an answer as they may turn to an accusation. And truly this ungodly race is said to be grown so numerous, that men of different parties can hardly converse together with any security. Even the pulpit hath not been free from the misrepresentation of these informers ; of whom the clergy have not wanted occasions to complain with holy David : " They daily mistake my words, all

they imagine is to do me evil." Nor is it any wonder at all, that this trade of informing should be now in a flourishing condition, since our case is manifestly thus: We are divided into two parties, with very little charity or temper toward each other; the prevailing side may talk of past things as they please, with security; and generally do it in the most provoking words they can invent; while those who are down, are sometimes tempted to speak in favour of a lost cause, and therefore, without great caution, must needs be often caught tripping, and thereby furnish plenty of materials for witnesses and informers.

Lastly, Those may be well reckoned among false witnesses against their neighbour, who bring him into trouble and punishment by such accusations as are of no consequence at all to the public, nor can be of any other use but to create vexation. Such witnesses are those who cannot hear an idle intemperate expression, but they must immediately run to the magistrate to inform; or, perhaps, wrangling in their cups over night, when they were not able to speak or apprehend three words of common sense, will pretend to remember everything the next morning, and think themselves very properly qualified to be accusers of their brethren. God be thanked, the throne of our King is too firmly settled to be shaken by the folly and rashness of every sottish companion. And I do not in the least doubt, that when those in power begin to observe the falsehood, the prevarication, the aggravating manner, the treachery and seducing, the malice and revenge, the love of lucre, and, lastly, the trifling accusations in too many wicked people; they will be as ready to discourage every sort of those whom I have numbered among false witnesses, as they will be to

countenance honest men, who, out of a true zeal to their prince and country, do, in the innocēce of their hearts, freely discover whatever they may apprehend to be dangerous to either. A good Christian will think it sufficient to reprove his brother for a rash unguarded word, where there is neither danger nor evil example to be apprehended; or, if he will not amend by reproof, avoid his conversation.

And thus much may serve to shew the several ways whereby a man may be said to be a false witness against his neighbour. I might have added one kind more, and it is of those who inform against their neighbour out of fear of punishment to themselves; which, although it be more excusable, and hath less of malice than any of the rest, cannot, however, be justified. I go on, therefore, upon the second head, to give you some rules for your conduct and behaviour, in order to defend yourselves against the malice and cunning of false accusers.

It is readily agreed, that innocence is the best protection in the world; yet that it is not always sufficient without some degree of prudence, our Saviour himself intimateth to us, by instructing his disciples “to be wise as serpents, as well as innocent as doves.” But if ever innocence be too weak a defence, it is chiefly so in jealous and suspicious times, when factions are arrived to a high pitch of animosity, and the minds of men, instead of being warmed by a true zeal for religion, are inflamed only by party fury. Neither is virtue itself a sufficient security in such times, because it is not allowed to be virtue, otherwise than as it hath a mixture of party.

However, although virtue and innocence are no in-

fallible defence against perjury, malice, and subornation, yet they are great supports for enabling us to bear those evils with temper and resignation ; and it is an unspeakable comfort to a good man, under the malignity of evil mercenary tongues, that a few years will carry his appeal to a higher tribunal, where false witnesses, instead of daring to bring accusations before an all-seeing Judge, will call for mountains to cover them. As for earthly judges, they seldom have it in their power, and God knows whether they have it in their will, to mingle mercy with justice ; they are so far from knowing the hearts of the accuser or the accused, that they cannot know their own ; and their understanding is frequently biased, although their intentions be just. They are often prejudiced to causes, parties, and persons, through the infirmity of human nature, without being sensible themselves that they are so ; and therefore, although God may pardon their errors here, he certainly will not ratify their sentences hereafter.

However, since, as we have before observed, our Saviour prescribeth to us to be not only harmless as doves, but wise as serpents ; give me leave to prescribe to you some rules, which the most ignorant person may follow for the conduct of his life, with safety in perilous times, against false accusers.

1st, Let me advise you to have nothing at all to do with that which is commonly called politics, or the government of the world, in the nature of which it is certain you are utterly ignorant ; and when your opinion is wrong, although it proceeds from ignorance, it shall be an accusation against you. Besides, opinions in government are right or wrong, just according to the humour and disposition of the times ; and unless you have

judgment to distinguish, you may be punished at one time for what you would be rewarded in another.

2dly, Be ready at all times, in your words and actions, to shew your loyalty to the king that reigns over you. This is the plain manifest doctrine of holy scripture: "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supreme," &c. And another apostle telleth us, "The powers that be are ordained of God." Kings are the ordinances of man by the permission of God, and they are ordained of God by his instrument man. The powers that be, the present powers, which are ordained by God, and yet in some sense are the ordinances of man, are what you must obey, without presuming to examine into rights and titles; neither can it be reasonably expected, that the powers in being, or in possession, should suffer their title to be publicly disputed by subjects without severe punishment. And to say the truth, there is no duty in religion more easy to the generality of mankind, than obedience to government; I say to the generality of mankind; because, while their law, and property, and religion are preserved, it is of no great consequence to them by whom they are governed, and therefore they are under no temptation to desire a change.

3dly, In order to prevent any charge from the malice of false witnesses, be sure to avoid intemperance. If it be often so hard for men to govern their tongues when they are in their right senses, how can they hope to do it when they are heated with drink? In those cases most men regard not what they say, and too many not what they swear; neither will a man's memory, disordered with drunkenness, serve to defend himself, or satisfy him whether he were guilty or not.

4thly, Avoid as much as possible, the conversation of those people who are given to talk of public persons and affairs, especially of those whose opinions in such matters are different from yours. I never once knew any disputes of this kind managed with tolerable temper; but on both sides they only agree as much as possible to provoke the passions of each other; indeed with this disadvantage, that he who argueth on the side of power, may speak securely the utmost his malice can invent; while the other lieth every moment at the mercy of an informer; and the law, in these cases, will give no allowance at all for passion, inadvertency, or the highest provocation.

I come now, in the last place, to shew you how far it is your duty, as good subjects and good neighbours, to bear faithful witness when you are lawfully called to it by those in authority, or by the sincere advice of your own consciences.

In what I have hitherto said, you easily find, that I do not talk of bearing witness in general, which is and may be lawful upon a thousand accounts, in relation to property and other matters, and wherein there are many scandalous corruptions almost peculiar to this country, which would require to be handled by themselves. But I have confined my discourse only to that branch of bearing false witness whereby the public is injured in the safety or honour of the prince, or those in authority under him.

In order, therefore, to be a faithful witness, it is first necessary that a man doth not undertake it from the least prospect of any private advantage to himself. The smallest mixture of that leaven will sour the whole lump.

Interest will infallibly bias his judgment, although he be ever so firmly resolved to say nothing but truth. He cannot serve God and Mammon : but as interest is the chief end, he will use the most effectual means to advance it. He will aggravate circumstances to make his testimony valuable ; he will be sorry if the person he accuseth should be able to clear himself ; in short, he is labouring a point which he thinks necessary to his own good ; and it would be a disappointment to him, that his neighbour should prove innocent.

2dly, Every good subject is obliged to bear witness against his neighbour, for any action or words, the telling of which would be of disadvantage to the public, and the concealment dangerous, or of ill example. Of this nature are all plots and conspiracies against the peace of a nation ; all disgraceful words against a prince, such as clearly discover a disloyal and rebellious heart. But, where our prince and country can possibly receive no damage or disgrace ; where no scandal or ill example is given ; and our neighbour, it may be, provoked by us, happeneth privately to drop a rash or indiscreet word, which in strictness of law might bring him under trouble, perhaps to his utter undoing ; there we are obliged, we ought, to proceed no farther than warning and reproof.

In describing to you the several kinds of false witnesses, I have made it less necessary to dwell much longer upon this head : because a faithful witness, like everything else, is known by his contrary : Therefore, it would be only a repetition of what I have already said, to tell you that the strictest truth is required in a witness ; that he should be wholly free from malice against the person he accuses ; that he should not aggravate the

smallest circumstance against the criminal, nor conceal the smallest in his favour ; and to crown all, though I have hinted it before, that the only cause or motive of his undertaking an office, so subject to censure, and so difficult to perform, should be the safety and service of his prince and country.

Under these conditions and limitations, (but not otherwise,) there is no manner of doubt but a good man may lawfully and justly become a witness in behalf of the public, and may perform that office (in its own nature not very desirable) with honour and integrity. For the command in the text is positive, as well as negative ; that is to say, as we are directed not to bear false witness against our neighbour, so we are to bear true. Next to the word of God, and the advice of teachers, every man's conscience, strictly examined, will be his best director in this weighty point : and to that I shall leave him.

It might perhaps be thought proper to have added something by way of advice to those who are unhappily engaged in this abominable trade and sin of bearing false witness ; but I am far from believing or supposing any of that destructive tribe are now my hearers. I look upon them as a sort of people that seldom frequent these holy places, where they can hardly pick up any materials to serve their turn, unless they think it worth their while to misrepresent or pervert the words of the preacher : And whoever is that way disposed, I doubt, cannot be in a very good condition to edify and reform himself by what he heareth. God in his mercy preserve us from all the guilt of this grievous sin forbidden in my text, and from the snares of those who are guilty of it !

I shall conclude with one or two precepts given by

Moses, from God, to the children of Israel, in the xxiiiid of Exod. 1, 2.

“Thou shalt not raise a false report: Put not thine hand with the wicked, to be an unrighteous witness.

“Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil; neither shalt thou speak in a cause to decline after many, to wrest judgment.”

Now to God the Father, &c.

SERMON VIII.

ON

THE POOR MAN'S CONTENTMENT.

 PHILIPPIANS, iv. 11.

I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content.

THE holy Scripture is full of expressions to set forth the miserable condition of man during the whole progress of his life ; his weakness, pride, and vanity ; his unmeasurable desires, and perpetual disappointments ; the prevalency of his passions, and the corruptions of his reason ; his deluding hopes, and his real, as well as imaginary, fears ; his natural and artificial wants ; his cares and anxieties ; the diseases of his body, and the diseases of his mind ; the shortness of his life ; his dread of a future state, with his carelessness to prepare for it : and the wise men of all ages have made the same reflections.

But all these are general calamities, from which none are excepted ; and being without remedy, it is vain to bewail them. The great question, long debated in the world, is, whether the rich or the poor are the least miserable of the two ? It is certain, that no rich man ever desired to be poor, and that most, if not all, poor men,

desire to be rich ; whence it may be argued, that, in all appearance, the advantage lieth on the side of wealth, because both parties agree in preferring it before poverty. But this reasoning will be found to be false ; for I lay it down as a certain truth, that God Almighty hath placed all men upon an equal foot, with respect to their happiness in this world, and the capacity of attaining their salvation in the next ; or, at least, if there be any difference, it is not to the advantage of the rich and the mighty. Now, since a great part of those who usually make up our congregations are not of considerable station, and many among them of the lower sort, and since the meaner people are generally and justly charged with the sin of repining and murmuring at their own condition, to which, however, their betters are sufficiently subject (although, perhaps, for shame, not always so loud in their complaints,) I thought it might be useful to reason upon this point in as plain a manner as I can. I shall therefore shew, first, that the poor enjoy many temporal blessings, which are not common to the rich and the great : and likewise, that the rich and the great are subject to many temporal evils, which are not common to the poor.

But here I would not be misunderstood perhaps : there is not a word more abused than that of the poor, or wherein the world is more generally mistaken. Among the number of those who beg in our streets, or are half-starved at home, or languish in prison for debt, there is hardly one in a hundred who doth not owe his misfortunes to his own laziness, or drunkenness, or worse vices.

To these he owes those very diseases, which often disable him from getting his bread. Such wretches are deservedly unhappy : they can only blame themselves ; and

when we are commanded to have pity on the poor, these are not understood to be of the number.

It is true, indeed, that sometimes honest endeavouring men are reduced to extreme want, even to the begging of alms, by losses, by accidents, by diseases, and old age, without any fault of their own : but these are very few in comparison of the other ; nor would their support be any sensible burden to the public, if the charity of well-disposed persons were not intercepted by those common strollers, who are most importunate, and who least deserve it. These, indeed, are properly and justly called the poor, whom it should be our study to find out and distinguish, by making them partake of our superfluity and abundance.

But neither have these anything to do with my present subject ; for, by the poor, I only intend the honest industrious artificer, the meaner sort of tradesmen, and the labouring man, who getteth his bread by the sweat of his brows, in town or country, and who make the bulk of mankind among us.

First, I shall therefore shew, that the poor (in the sense I understand the word) do enjoy many temporal blessings, which are not common to the rich and great ; and likewise, that the rich and great are subject to many temporal evils, which are not common to the poor.

Secondly, From the arguments offered to prove the foregoing head, I shall draw some observations that may be useful for your practice.

As to the first : Health, we know, is generally allowed to be the best of all earthly possessions, because,

it is that without which we can have no satisfaction in any of the rest. For riches are of no use, if sickness taketh from us the ability of enjoying them ; and power and greatness are then only a burden. Now, if we would look for health, it must be in the humble habitation of the labouring man, or industrious artificer, who earn their bread by the sweat of their brows, and usually live to a good old age, with a great degree of strength and vigour.

The refreshment of the body by sleep is another great happiness of the meaner sort. Their rest is not disturbed by the fear of thieves and robbers, nor is it interrupted by surfeits of intemperance. Labour and plain food supply the want of quieting draughts ; and the wise man telleth us, that the sleep of the labouring man is sweet. As to children, which are certainly accounted of as a blessing, even to the poor, where industry is not wanting ; they are an assistance to honest parents, instead of being a burden ; they are healthy and strong, and fit for labour ; neither is the father in fear, lest his heir should be ruined by an unequal match : nor is he solicitous about his rising in the world, farther than to be able to get his bread.

The poorer sort are not the objects of general hatred or envy ; they have no twinges of ambition, nor trouble themselves with party quarrels, or state divisions. The idle rabble, who follow their ambitious leaders in such cases, do not fall within my description of the poorer sort ; for it is plain, I mean only the honest industrious poor in town or country, who are safest in times of public disturbance, in perilous seasons, and public revolutions, if they will be quiet, and do their business ; for artificers and husbandmen are necessary in all govern-

ments : but, in such seasons, the rich are the public mark, because they are oftentimes of no use but to be plundered ; like some sort of birds, who are good for nothing but their feathers ; and so fall a prey to the strongest side.

Let us proceed, on the other side, to examine the disadvantages which the rich and the great lie under, with respect to the happiness of the present life.

First, then ; While health, as we have said, is the general portion of the lower sort, the gout, the dropsy, the stone, the cholic, and all other diseases, are continually haunting the palaces of the rich and the great, as the natural attendants upon laziness and luxury. Neither does the rich man eat his sumptuous fare with half the appetite and relish that even the beggars do the crumbs which fall from his table : but, on the contrary, he is full of loathing and disgust, or, at best, of indifference, in the midst of plenty. Thus their intemperance shortens their lives, without pleasing their appetites.

Business, fear, guilt, design, anguish, and vexation, are continually buzzing about the curtains of the rich and the powerful, and will hardly suffer them to close their eyes, unless when they are dosed with the fumes of strong liquors.

It is a great mistake to imagine that the rich want but few things ; their wants are more numerous, more craving, and urgent, than those of poorer men : for these endeavour only at the necessaries of life, which make them happy, and they think no farther : but the desire of power and wealth is endless, and therefore impossible to be satisfied with any acquisitions.

If riches were so great a blessing as they are com-

monly thought, they would at least have this advantage, to give their owners cheerful hearts and countenances; they would often stir them up to express their thankfulness to God, and discover their satisfaction to the world. But, in fact, the contrary to all this is true. For where are there more cloudy brows, more melancholy hearts, or more ingratitude to their great Benefactor, than among those who abound in wealth? And, indeed, it is natural that it should be so, because those men, who covet things that are hard to be got, must be hard to please; whereas a small thing maketh a poor man happy, and great losses cannot befall him.

It is likewise worth considering, how few among the rich have procured their wealth by just measures. How many owe their fortunes to the sins of their parents, how many more to their own! If men's titles were to be tried before a true court of conscience, where false swearing, and a thousand vile artifices, (that are well known, and can hardly be avoided in human courts of justice,) would avail nothing; how many would be ejected with infamy and disgrace! How many grow considerable by breach of trust, by bribery and corruption! how many have sold their religion, with the rights and liberties of themselves and others, for power and employments!

And it is a mistake to think that the most hardened sinner, who oweth his possessions or titles to any such wicked arts of thieving, can have true peace of mind, under the reproaches of a guilty conscience, and amid the cries of ruined widows and orphans.

I know not one real advantage that the rich have over the poor, except the power of doing good to others; but this is an advantage which God hath not given

wicked men the grace to make use of. The wealth acquired by evil means was never employed to good ends: for that would be to divide the kingdom of Satan against itself. Whatever hath been gained by fraud, avarice, oppression, and the like, must be preserved and increased by the same methods.

I shall add but one thing more upon this head, which I hope will convince you, that God (whose thoughts are not as our thoughts) never intended riches or power to be necessary for the happiness of mankind in this life; because it is certain, that there is not one single good quality of the mind absolutely necessary to obtain them, where men are resolved to be rich at any rate; neither honour, justice, temperance, wisdom, religion, truth, nor learning; for a slight acquaintance of the world will inform us, that there have been many instances of men, in all ages, who have arrived at great possessions and great dignities, by cunning, fraud, or flattery, without any of these, or any other virtues that can be named. Now, if riches and greatness were such blessings, that good men, without them, could not have their share of happiness in this life; how cometh it to pass, that God should suffer them to be often dealt to the worst, and most profligate of mankind; that they should be generally procured by the most abominable means, and applied to the basest and most wicked uses? This ought not to be conceived of a just, a merciful, a wise, and Almighty Being. We must, therefore, conclude, that wealth and power are in their own nature, at best, but things indifferent, and that a good man may be equally happy without them; provided that he hath a sufficiency of the common blessings of human life to answer all the reasonable and virtuous demands of nature, which

his industry will provide, and sobriety will prevent his wanting.—Agur's prayer, with the reasons of his wish, are full to this purpose: "Give me neither poverty nor riches. Feed me with food convenient for me; lest I be full and deny thee, and say, 'Who is the Lord?' or lest I be poor, and steal, and take the name of my God in vain."

From what hath been said, I shall, in the second place, offer some considerations, that may be useful for your practice.

And, here, I shall apply myself chiefly to those of the lower sort, for whose comfort and satisfaction this discourse is principally intended. For, having observed the great sin of those who do not abound in wealth, to be that of murmuring and repining, that God hath dealt his blessings unequally to the sons of men, I thought it would be of great use to remove out of your minds so false and wicked an opinion, by shewing that your condition is really happier than most of you imagine.

First, Therefore, it hath been always agreed in the world, that the present happiness of mankind consisted in the ease of our body, and the quiet of our mind; but, from what has been already said, it plainly appears, that neither wealth nor power do in any sort contribute to either of these two blessings. If, on the contrary, by multiplying our desires, they increase our discontents; if they destroy our health, gall us with painful diseases, and shorten our life; if they expose us to hatred, to envy, to censure, to a thousand temptations, it is not easy to see why a wise man should make them his choice, for their own sake, although it were in his power.

Would any of you, who are in health and strength of body, with moderate food and raiment, earned by your own labour, rather choose to be in the rich man's bed, under the torture of the gout, unable to take your natural rest, or natural nourishment, with the additional load of a guilty conscience, reproaching you for injustice, oppressions, covetousness, and fraud? No; but you would take the riches and power, and leave behind the inconveniences that attend them; and so would every man living. But that is more than our share, and God never intended this world for such a place of rest as we would make it; for the scripture assureth us that it was only designed as a place of trial. Nothing is more frequent than a man to wish himself in another's condition; yet he seldom doth it without some reserve: he would not be so old, he would not be so sickly; he would not be so cruel; he would not be so insolent; he would not be so vicious; he would not be so oppressive, so griping, and so on. Whence it is plain, that, in their own judgment, men are not so unequally dealt with as they would at first sight imagine; for, if I would not change my condition with another man, without any exception or reservation at all, I am, in reality, more happy than he.

Secondly, You, of the meaner sort, are subject to fewer temptations than the rich; and therefore your vices are more unpardonable. Labour subdueth your appetites, to be satisfied with common things; the business of your several callings filleth up your whole time; so that idleness, which is the bane and destruction of virtue, doth not lead you into the neighbourhood of sin: your passions are cooler, by not being inflamed with excess, and therefore the gate and the way that

lead to life, are not so strait and so narrow to you, as to those who live among all the allurements to wickedness. To serve God with the best of your care and understanding, and to be just and true in your dealings, is the short sum of your duty, and will be the more strictly required of you, because nothing lieth in the way to divert you from it.

Thirdly, It is plain, from what I have said, that you of the lower rank have no just reason to complain of your condition : because, as you plainly see, it affordeth you so many advantages, and freeth you from so many vexations, so many distempers, both of body and mind, which pursue and torment the rich and powerful.

Fourthly, You are to remember and apply, that the poorest person is not excused from doing good to others, and even relieving the wants of his distressed neighbour, according to his abilities ; and if you perform your duty in this point, you far outdo the greatest liberalities of the rich, and will, accordingly, be accepted of by God, and get your reward : for it is our Saviour's own doctrine, when the widow gave her two mites. The rich give out of their abundance ; that is to say, what they give, they do not feel it in their way of living : but the poor man, who giveth out of his little stock, must spare it from the necessary food and raiment of himself and his family. And, therefore, our Saviour adds, " That the widow gave more than all who went before her ; for she gave all she had, even all her living ;" and so went home, utterly unprovided to supply her necessities.

Lastly, As it appeareth from what hath been said, that you in the lower rank have, in reality, a greater

share of happiness, your work of salvation is easier, by your being liable to fewer temptations; and, as your reward in Heaven is much more certain than it is to the rich, if you seriously perform your duty, for yours is the Kingdom of Heaven: so your neglect of it will be less excusable, will meet with fewer allowances from God, and will be punished with double stripes; for the most unknowing among you cannot plead ignorance of what you have been so early taught, I hope so often instructed in, and which is so easy to be understood, I mean the art of leading a life agreeable to the plain and positive laws of God. Perhaps you may think you lie under one disadvantage, which the great and rich have not; that idleness will certainly reduce you to beggary: whereas those who abound in wealth, lie under no necessity, either of labour or temperance, to keep enough to live on. But this is, indeed, one part of your happiness, that the lowness of your condition, in a manner, forceth you to what is pleasing to God, and necessary for your daily support. Thus, your duty and interest are always the same.

To conclude: Since our blessed Lord, instead of a rich and honourable station in this world, was pleased to choose his lot among men of the lower condition; let not those on whom the bounty of Providence hath bestowed wealth and honours, despise the men who are placed in a humble and inferior station; but rather, with their utmost power, by their countenance, by their protection, by just payment of their honest labour, encourage their daily endeavours for the support of themselves and their families. On the other hand, let the poor labour to provide things honest in the sight of all men; and so, with diligence in their several employ-

ments, live soberly, righteously, and godlily in this present world, that they may obtain that glorious reward promised in the Gospel to the poor, I mean the kingdom of Heaven.

Now, to God the Father, &c.

END OF VOLUME VII.

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The first of these was the discovery of gold in California in 1848. This led to a great influx of people to the West, and the establishment of many new settlements. The second was the discovery of gold in Colorado in 1859. This led to a great influx of people to the West, and the establishment of many new settlements.

The third was the discovery of gold in Nevada in 1859. This led to a great influx of people to the West, and the establishment of many new settlements. The fourth was the discovery of gold in Idaho in 1860. This led to a great influx of people to the West, and the establishment of many new settlements.

The fifth was the discovery of gold in Montana in 1862. This led to a great influx of people to the West, and the establishment of many new settlements. The sixth was the discovery of gold in Wyoming in 1869. This led to a great influx of people to the West, and the establishment of many new settlements.

The seventh was the discovery of gold in Utah in 1863. This led to a great influx of people to the West, and the establishment of many new settlements. The eighth was the discovery of gold in Arizona in 1863. This led to a great influx of people to the West, and the establishment of many new settlements.

The ninth was the discovery of gold in New Mexico in 1861. This led to a great influx of people to the West, and the establishment of many new settlements. The tenth was the discovery of gold in Texas in 1856. This led to a great influx of people to the West, and the establishment of many new settlements.

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The fifteenth was the discovery of gold in the Yukon in 1896. This led to a great influx of people to the West, and the establishment of many new settlements. The sixteenth was the discovery of gold in the Klondike in 1897. This led to a great influx of people to the West, and the establishment of many new settlements.



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